10 Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History No. 10

Canadian Historic Sites

Indian and
Northern Affairs

Affaires indiennes
et du Nord

The Architectural Heritage of the Rideau Corridor,
by Barbara A. Humphreys

Glassware Excavated at Fort Gaspereau, New Brunswick,
by Jane E. Harris

Commissioners of the Yukon, 1897-1918,
by Edward F. Bush

Canadian Historic Sites:
Occasional Papers in Archaeology
and History – No. 10

National Historic Parks and
Sites Branch
Parks Canada
Indian and Northern Affairs
Ottawa, 1974

Cover: Stone house near Burritts
Rapids.
(*Photo by B. A. Humphreys.*)

Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History will be published as papers become available. Manuscripts may be submitted to Chief, Research Division, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Indian and Northern Affairs, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0H4, Canada.

Issued under the authority of the
Honourable Jean Chrétien, PC, MP,
Minister of Indian and
Northern Affairs

Produced by the Conservation Group,
Office of the
Public Information Adviser
Design : Gottschalk+Ash Ltd.

The Architectural Heritage of the Rideau Corridor

by Barbara A. Humphreys

12 **Abstract**
13 **The Heritage**
15 **Settlement**
16 **Builders Along the Rideau**
17 **Houses of the Rideau**
18 **Exposed Log Houses**
22 **Stone Houses**
34 **Frame Houses**
38 **Brick Houses**
44 **Defensive Buildings of the Canal**
48 **Churches of the Rideau**
56 **School Buildings of the Rideau**
61 **The Commercial, Social and Administrative Buildings**
69 **Conclusions**
70 **Endnotes**
70 **Bibliography**

Illustrations

14 1 Map of the Rideau Corridor.
17 2 House in North Gower.
17 3 Stone House in Heckston.
19 4 The Red House in Perth.
19 5 Log cabin in Ashton.
20 6 Log cabin in Wolford township.
20 7 Log cabin in North Gower township.
21 8 Log cabin in Montague township.
21 9 "Wilson's Bay" post office in South Gower.
21 10 Early stone fireplace, Storrington.
21 11 Log cabin in Goulbourn.
21 12, 13 Cabin in Montague township.
21 14 Log cabin in Montague township.
23 15 The Haggart-Shortt house in Perth.
23 16 Merrick house in Merrickville.
23 17 William Merrick house in Merrickville.
23 18 Harris-Radenhurst-Inderwicke house in Perth.
23 19 Stone house in Drummond township.
24 20, 21 Typical twelve-pane, slim mullioned windows.
24 22, 23 Large multi-paned sash on house near Westport.
26 24, 25 "Venetian" windows.
26 26 Gable windows. Semi-circular head.
26 27 Gable windows. Adamesque oval.
26 28 Gable windows. Classical Revival.
27 29 Gable windows. Ogee design.
27 30 Gable windows. Gothic Revival.
27 31 Gable windows. "Carpenter's Gothic."
27 32 Moulded trim of classical design.
27 33 Unusually elaborate cornice.
27 34 Classical mouldings and dentil trim.
28 35 The six-panel door on house in North Elmsley.
28 36 Eight-panel door in South Crosby.
28 37 Seven-panel door design in Prospect.
28 38, 39 Chester-McCabe house, Montague township.
29 40 Classical mouldings and symmetrical trim.
29 41 Wooden louvres and paneled trim.
30 42 Graceful tracery in wood on the Harris-Radenhurst-Inderwicke house in Perth.
30 43 Rectangular transom on a stone house built in 1847.
30 44 Entrance porch and door of Stephen Merrick house.
30 45 Entrance to Cattin Hall in North Crosby.
30 46 Dentil-trimmed doorway in South Elmsley.
31 47 Ferguson house in Kemptville.
31 48 Gothic Revival detailing.
31 49 Treillage design showing Scottish thistle.
32 50 Verandah treillage on a stone house.
32 51 Gothic gingerbread and sturdy finial on St. John's Presbytery in Perth.
32 52 Shaw house in Perth.
32 53 Phelan House, North Gower.
35 54 Benjamin Tett house in Newboro.
35 55 Board and batten finished house in Eastons Corners.
35 56, 57 Classically designed mid-19th-century house in Newboro.
35 58, 59 Fanlight of frame house in Bastard township.
36 60 House in Newboro.
36 61 House in South Crosby.
36 62 The Watts house in Eastons Corners.
36 63 Regency style frame house in Kemptville.
37 64, 65 Early styled treillage on a Brock Street house in Merrickville
37 66, 67 Mid-19th-century house in Burritts Rapids.
39 68 Burchill house in Merrickville.
39 69 House of alternating red and yellow brick in Wolford township.
39 70 Summit house on Drummond Street in Perth.
39 71, 72 McMartin house in Perth.
40 73, 74 House in Wolford township.
40 75, 76 McCrea house in Wolford township.
41 77 Samuel Starr Easton house in Wolford.
41 78 Brick house in Osgoode township.
41 79, 80 Red brick house in Oxford township.

41 81 Unusual details of house in Marlborough township.
42 82, 83 House on Van Buren Street in Kemptville.
42 84 Allan house on Isabella Street in Perth.
45 85 Blockhouse in Newboro.
45 86 Blockhouse in Merrickville.
46 87 Lockmaster's house at Davis Lock.
46 88 Lockmaster's house at Chaffeys Locks.
47 89, 90 Forge at Jones Falls.
49 91, 92 St. Augustine's Anglican Church in Prospect.
49 93, 94 Wesleyan Methodist Church in Salem.
49 95, 96 St. John's Anglican Church in Storrington.
50 97 United Church in Battersea.
50 98 Standard Presbyterian Church, North Gower township.
50 99 St. James Anglican Church in Manotick.
50 100 Limestone church in Sunbury.
51 101 Christ Church, Burritts Rapids.
51 102 Wolford Chapel United Church in Wolford.
51 103 St. Edward's Roman Catholic Church in Westport.
51 104 St. Philips Catholic Church in Richmond.
51 105 Seeleys Bay United Church.
51 106 Knox Presbyterian Church, Merrickville.
53 107 United Church in North Gower.
53 108 First Baptist Church, Smith's Falls.
53 109 St. John's Catholic Church in Perth.
53 110 St. John the Evangelist Anglican Church, Oxford Mills.
54 111, 112 St. Augustine's Anglican Church at Acton Corners.
54 113 Methodist Church in Forfar.
54 114 Methodist Church in Eastons Corners.
54 115 The scissors truss ceiling of St. John the Evangelist Church in Oxford Mills.
54 116 Hammer beam ceiling in the Holy Trinity Church in North Gower.
54 117 Tall vaulted ceiling of St. Edward's Catholic Church in Westport.
56 118 Bell tower of Maple Wood School in Oxford.
56 119 Bell tower of Jasper School, Wolford.
57 120 Bell tower of Eastons Corners School in Wolford township.
57 121 Schoolhouse in Heckston.
57 122, 123 Schoolhouse in South Gower township.
58 124 Log schoolhouse in Montague township.
58 125 River Road school, Bathurst township.
58 126 Board and batten schoolhouse in Bathurst township.
58 127 Stone schoolhouse in Freeland.
58 128 Wolford Chapel School in Wolford township.
59 129 Maple Wood School in Oxford Mills.
60 130 Two-room brick schoolhouse in Jasper.
60 131 Secondary school in Smith's Falls.
60 132 Public school on Beckwith Street, Smith's Falls.
62 133, 134 First store and post office in Munster.
62 135 Porter garage in Prospect.
62 136 Twin carriage shops in Eastons Corners.
62 137 Rideau District Museum in Westport.
63 138 Merrick Mills in Merrickville.
63 139 Mill in Manotick.
63 140 Cheese factory in Burridge.
64 141 Rose's Inn, Montague township.
64 142 McKeen Hotel in Kemptville.
64 143 Grenville Hotel in Merrickville.
64 144, 145 Reilly's Hotel in Richmond.
64 146 Hotel Imperial in Perth.
66 147,148 Scovil's store in Portland.
66 149 General store, Oxford Mills.
66 150 Brook's Block on Gore Street in Perth.
66 151 Foley house in Westport.
67 152 Business block, Beckwith Street, Smith's Falls.
67 153 Business block on Foster Street in Perth.
67 154 Garretts Block in Smith's Falls.
67 155 Town Hall, Montague township.
67 156 Loyal Orange Lodge in Storrington township.
67 157, 158 Temperance Hall in Wolford township.
68 159 Town Hall, North Gower.
68 160 Lanark County Court House on Drummond Street in Perth.
68 161 Lanark County Registry Office, Drummond Street, Perth.

Glassware Excavated at Fort Gaspereau, New Brunswick
by Jane E. Harris

74 **Abstract**
74 **Acknowledgements**
75 **Introduction**
78 **Artifacts from the French Occupation**
78 *Wine Bottles*
78 *Square Blue-Green Bottles*
80 *Wide-Mouthed Blue-Green Bottles*
81 *Tumblers*
83 **Artifacts from the English Occupation**
83 *Wine and Spirits Bottles*
85 *Pharmaceutical Bottles*
85 **Artifacts from the Post-Occupation Period**
85 *Liquor Bottles*
87 *Beer Bottles*
88 *Soda Bottles*
88 *Paneled Bottles*
88 *Miscellaneous Bases*
89 *Food Storage Containers*
91 *Tumblers*
92 **Unidentified Artifacts**
92 *Flat-Sided Vessels*
92 *Bottles*
92 *Clear Glass Vessels*
93 **Conclusions and Discussion**
94 **References Cited**

Illustrations

76 1 Map showing location of Fort Gaspereau.
77 2 Site and excavation plan of Fort Gaspereau.
79 3 French wine bottle fragments.
79 4 French wine bottle base fragment.
79 5 French wine bottle neck fragment.
79 6 Square blue-green bottle fragments.
81 7 Neck of a wide-mouthed blue-green bottle.
81 8 Blue-green base fragment.
81 9 Blue-green base.
81 10 Pattern-moulded tumbler.
82 11 Part of a Stiegel-type tumbler.
84 12 English wine bottle.
84 13 English wine bottle neck.
84 14 Base fragment of a pharmaceutical bottle.
86 15 Liquor bottle neck.
86 16 Shoofly flask neck.
87 17 Beer bottle fragments.
89 18 Soda water bottle fragment.
89 19 Crown fruit jar fragment.
90 20 Crown fruit jar lid.

Commissioners of the Yukon, 1897-1918
by Edward F. Bush

98 **Abstract**
98 **The Last Frontier**
99 *James Morrow Walsh*
105 *William Ogilvie*
113 **Political Ferment**
113 *James Hamilton Ross*
118 *Frederick Tennyson Congdon*
125 *William Wallace Burns McInnes*
136 **Yukon in Transition**
136 *Alexander Henderson*
142 *George Black*
153 **Epilogue**
154 **Appendix**
155 **Endnotes**
157 **Bibliography**

Illustrations

100 1 James Morrow Walsh.
102 2 Commissioner Walsh and staff, 1898.
107 3 William Ogilvie.
114 4 Commissioner Ross addressing gathering, Dawson, 24th May 1901
114 5 Commissioner's residence, 1901
119 6 Commissioner Congdon.
126 7 Commissioner McInnes.
129 8 W. W. B. McInnes leaving Dawson presumably in November 1906.
133 9 Commissioner's residence. Note "ballot boxes".
134 10 Commissioner's residence burning, 1906.
134 11 Commissioner's residence, presumably as restored after the fire.
137 12 Hon. Alexander Henderson, K.C., Commissioner of the Yukon Territory.
143 13 George Black, last full-fledged commissioner of the Yukon.

© Crown Copyright reserved

Available by mail from Information Canada, Ottawa, and at the following Information Canada bookshops:

Halifax
1687 Barrington Street

Montreal
640 St. Catherine Street West

Ottawa
171 Slater Street

Toronto
221 Yonge Street

Winnipeg
393 Portage Avenue

Vancouver
680 Robson Street

or through your bookseller

Price: $5.00, Catalogue No.: R61-2/1-10
Library of Congress Catalogue Card No.: 70-103875
Price subject to change without notice
Information Canada
Ottawa, 1974
IAND Publication No. QS-1378-000-EE-A1

The Architectural Heritage of the Rideau Corridor

by Barbara A. Humphreys

Abstract

In 1969, an architectural survey was made of all pre-1880 buildings in the Rideau Corridor, an area extending from Ottawa to Kingston (though not including these two cities) along the Rideau Canal. Of the 1,800 buildings recorded, 1,677 were considered to be within the relevant time period. This report describes, analyzes and illustrates a representative collection of these structures as well as some of their architectural details.

A survey was undertaken in 1969 by the National Historic Sites Service of the National and Historic Parks Branch for the Canada-Ontario-Rideau-Trent-Severn (CORTS) Study Committee. This survey was designed to record all pre-1880 habitable structures in the Rideau Corridor, and also to serve as a pilot project for the Canadian Inventory of Historic Building commenced the following year. The boundaries of the Rideau Corridor were established by the CORTS Study Committee and students were employed by the National Historic Sites Service to drive all roads within the given area to map, photograph and record all pre-1880 buildings which could be located. Approximately 1,800 buildings were recorded of which 1,677 were considered to be within the relevant time period. The information obtained on these buildings was coded for transferral to IBM cards and a preliminary report on the findings was compiled in 1970.

The preliminary report was primarily a statistical summary indicating the number, location, condition, type and estimated date of construction of the buildings recorded in the corridor. It was supplemented by maps, coded to show where clusters of the more interesting structures might be found, and a brief commentary on some 45 selected examples. This present report provides a more comprehensive description and analysis of the pre-1880 architecture recorded in the survey.

The boundaries of the Rideau Corridor determined by the CORTS Study Committee were followed as closely as possible, using for practical reasons the roads nearest the boundaries as demarkation lines. The cut-off date of 1880 was chosen because after this time the economic and architectural development of the area became more diversified and thus less representative of this particular environment. Selection of the buildings recorded in the survey was based on architectural style, the history of the area and, where available, the history of the building itself. Early maps and assessment rolls, locally written histories, family records and folklore were also utilized to assist in dating. However, because of the difficulties encountered in accurately dating the buildings, it is possible that some built prior to 1880 have been omitted and conversely, that some post-1880 structures have been inadvertently included. Nonetheless it is believed that the survey, both in coverage and accuracy, provides more than an adequate amount of information on which to base a comprehensive analysis of the architectural heritage of the area.

Neither the survey nor this report could have been completed without the cooperation and assistance so freely given by the owners or occupants of the buildings surveyed. Their interest is very much appreciated since it not only enabled the recording of the architectural heritage but, more importantly, is essential to its future preservation.

The Heritage

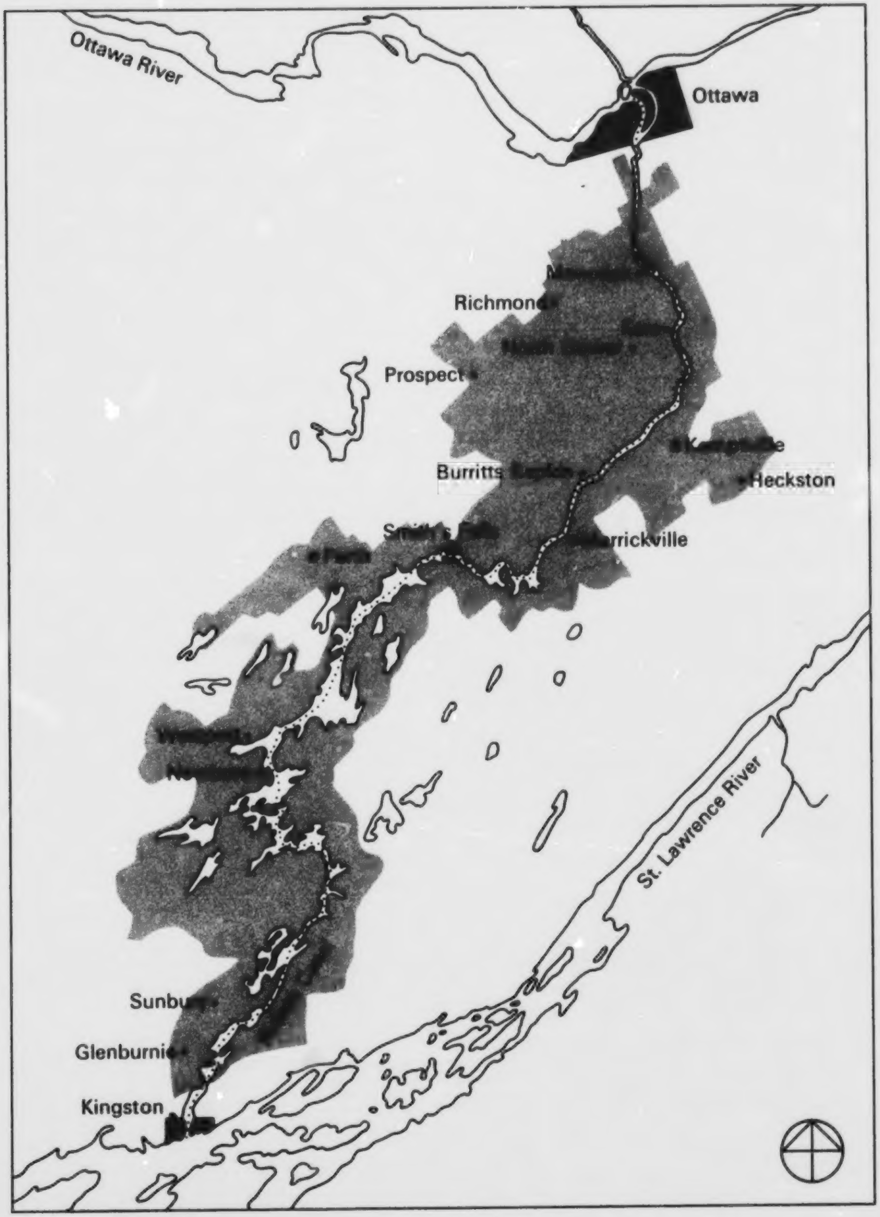
The corridor including the Rideau Canal runs the entire 125-mile length of the canal between Ottawa and Kingston and varies in width to include parts of the counties of Carleton, Lanark, Leeds and Grenville, and Frontenac. The area surveyed excludes Ottawa and Kingston but includes the centres of Perth, Smith's Falls and Kemptville and a number of smaller, historically interesting communities (*see* Fig. 1).

The corridor is largely rural in nature, encompassing recreational areas, woodlands, swamplands, pastures and farms and, too, some of the best 19th-century vernacular architecture in Ontario in the form of hundreds of stone cottages, outstanding for their excellence of proportion and fine simplicity of design. Most of these have been well maintained or restored and many of them remain in the families of the original settlers who built them. Some of these houses can be found grouped together in the older settlements of the area. Others remain as the farm homes they were meant to be and can be found bordering the main roads in those areas where initial settlement was early and concentrated such as the Burritts Rapids-Merrickville area, the road near Heckston and the area through Westport and Sunbury to Kingston. Still others are isolated and cannot be seen from the main road but make the required concession road detours most worthwhile.

In addition to these stone cottages for which the area is justly famous, there is a substantial representative group of other types of 19th-century buildings – mills, churches, schools and shops – which were an integral part of the life and development of the early communities of the area. Finally, there survive a number of the buildings erected to service and defend the canal. These include 4 of Canada's 11 remaining blockhouses and several defensible lockmaster's houses as well as a few service buildings. Together they constitute a style of "semi-military" architecture unique in Canada.

This is a rich heritage. The quantity and quality of the surviving 19th-century buildings in the Rideau Corridor, the beauty of their predominantly rural locale, the history they represent and the canal itself make this area of the province a fascinating one both historically and architecturally.

1 Map of the Rideau Corridor showing the area covered in the survey.


Ottawa River
Ottawa
Richmond
Prospect
Burritts
Heckston
rrickville
St. Lawrence River
Sunbu
Glenburnie
Kingston

Settlement

The first settlement of a permanent nature in the Rideau Corridor was made in the late 18th century by United Empire Loyalists seeking refuge from the United States following the War of Independence. Settlement in Canada at that time was made doubly attractive by land grants offered by the British government as a reward for loyal services during the war. As a result many hundreds of British Americans arrived in Upper Canada, bringing with them very few material goods but a great deal of experience in frontier living. For a number of years the Loyalists constituted the bulk of the population along the Rideau, but about 1820 a great wave of immigration to Upper Canada began from England, Ireland and Scotland. Peaking in the early 1830s, this was to continue until 1850, and in its course it "completely changed the nature of the British North American Colonies, swamping the old Loyalist and American communities with Irishmen, Scotchmen and Englishmen new to the New World and its ways."[1]

The first community to be established in the area was Kingston, chosen as a naval base in 1792. Burritts Rapids and Merrickville followed, both founded by Loyalists as mill-sites in 1793 and 1794 respectively. In 1816 Perth was founded by a group of settlers from Scotland and a large number of discharged soldiers from both Scotland and Canada. Richmond, another community originated by disbanded soldiers, was established in 1818. Consequently when the Rideau Canal was begun in 1826 there were already a few communities established along the chosen route.

The decision to build the canal was made following the War of 1812 when it became obvious that an alternate route between Kingston and Montreal would be essential in the event of further hostilities. Though it was constructed primarily for defence, the canal also provided a line of communication through the wilderness that existed between pioneer farms and communities. In the course of events which followed, it was this secondary purpose that was actually served, as the canal was never called into active military use. The canal aided in the opening of new sections of Upper Canada and encouraged settlement; it fostered the development of some communities such as Bytown (Ottawa), whose importance partially stemmed from its position as the terminal point of the canal, and it stimulated and assisted the development of trade in the area.

The canal was completed in 1832 and the surrounding area thrived and developed for the next 30 years. The coming of the railways in the late 1850s, however, marked the beginning of gradual curtailment of commercial traffic on the canal and the steady decline of the small communities originally dependent on it, although during the last quarter of the 19th century the canal continued to be an important passenger route. Ironically, the freight on the canal during this time consisted largely of coal being shipped to service the CPR divisional point established at Smith's Falls.

The canal actually continued to serve until 1935 in an increasingly limited way for transportation of both passengers and freight. Some of the smaller towns retained their importance as rural centres but growth was largely concentrated around those communities served by the railroad – Smith's Falls, Kemptville and Perth.

In recent years interest in the canal has been renewed with recognition of its possibilities as a scenic and recreational waterway and of the charm and potential of the stone houses in the Rideau area. Recognized, too, is the canal's historical importance in the development of Upper Canada and the great engineering feat displayed by its construction under the most primitive conditions. This recognition is a timely one, for as Robert Legget has said,

The Waterway is certainly a national asset of unusual value not only because of its historical significance, being a true "national historic monument" even though spread over 120 miles, but also because of the singular beauty of its course and of the convenient access it gives to many inviting lakes and much pleasant countryside.[2]

The first buildings in the Rideau Corridor were most probably of log, hastily erected by owners or by neighbourly "bees." The plans were basic, the building small, the necessary materials at hand, and it took no great skill to erect at least an adequate shelter of this kind. Many of these rather crudely built cabins were replaced as soon as possible by a larger and more permanent type of accommodation, usually of stone.

The Loyalists brought with them to Upper Canada a long tradition and skill in building, both in wood and stone, but the expressed preference for stone in the Rideau Corridor is indicative of the influence of the Irish and Scottish immigrants, the ready availability of the material and the presence in the area of skilled stonemasons even before the building of the canal had commenced. Stone houses such as the Eager place in Heckston, the Harris-Radenhurst-Inderwicke house in Perth and the William Merrick house in Merrickville were all built and occupied before 1826, the year the canal was begun. However, the disproportionately large number of stone houses erected in the Rideau Corridor between 1830 and 1860 undoubtedly was due in large measure to the stone-masons who arrived in the area to work on the Rideau Canal, or learned their trade in so doing and stayed on to build houses when the canal was finished. Some, like those who built the Kelly house in Wolford township in the 1830s, had no choice: they were so indebted to Mr. Kelly for their room and board while working on the canal that they were obliged to discharge their debt by building him a house.

While it is a reasonable assumption that many of the stone houses were built by the canal stone-masons, it has not been possible as yet to actually substantiate this assumption (except in a few cases) or even to associate particular builders' names with very many of the buildings. Nor has evidence yet been found as to the origin of the plans or designs used, even in those isolated cases where the builder is known, such as Samuel Langford who worked in Merrickville in the 1850s building two of the Merrick houses, or J. Acton who built his house and the nearby church at Acton Corners. Since there were several carpenters' and builders' handbooks available in Great Britain and the United States at the time, it can be assumed that some of these were imported to Canada and used as guidebooks for house construction. A number of these, such as *The Carpenter's Assistant* by William Brown, *The American Builder's Companion* by Asher Benjamin, *The Architecture of Country Houses* by Andrew Jackson Downing, Louden's *Encyclopedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture*, and Batty Langley's *The City and Country Builder's and Workman's Treasury of Designs* are known to have been in libraries of various Mechanics Institutes before 1870.[3] Nonetheless, the buildings in question show little evidence of extensive copying of details from any one source. On the contrary, a very small number of all the houses recorded were found to be identical in detail, and except for a very few instances the houses having identical details were built after 1840 when planing mills were established and mass-produced millwork was becoming available. (Prior to about 1840 mill-sawn framing lumber was obtainable but the carpenter usually was still obliged to manufacture all sash, doors and trim on the site, and apparently to his own design.) The plans and designs, then, seem simply to have been evolved by the owner and builder, inevitably reflecting his origins as well as the current style of the period or area, with their ultimate success due to the intuitively fine sense of scale and proportion displayed in the design and the skilled craftsmanship displayed in its execution.

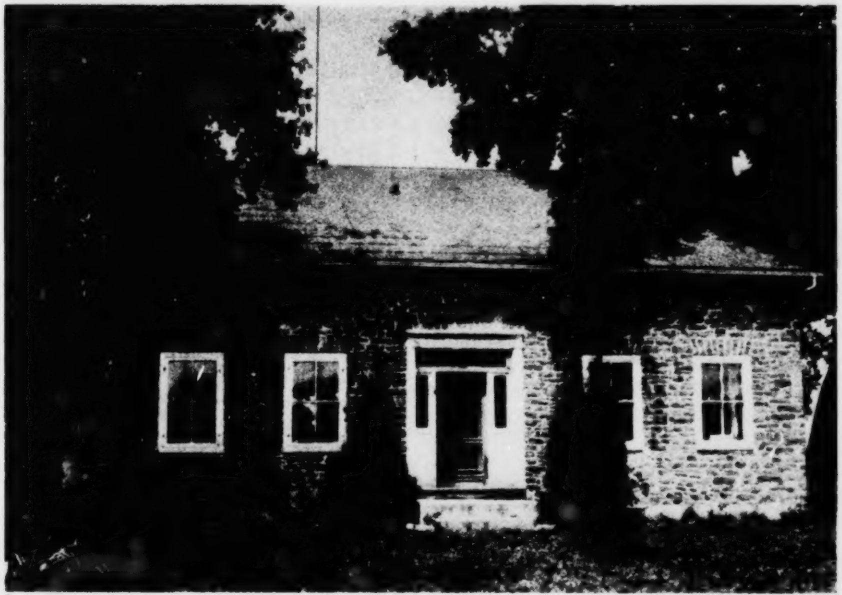
Not knowing their names, we must honour the builders as a group. They have left a lasting memorial in these plain but well-proportioned, simple but sturdy buildings. "Good building hath three Conditions – Commodity, Firmness and Delight."[4] The early builders of the Rideau Corridor followed that maxim well.

Houses of the Rideau

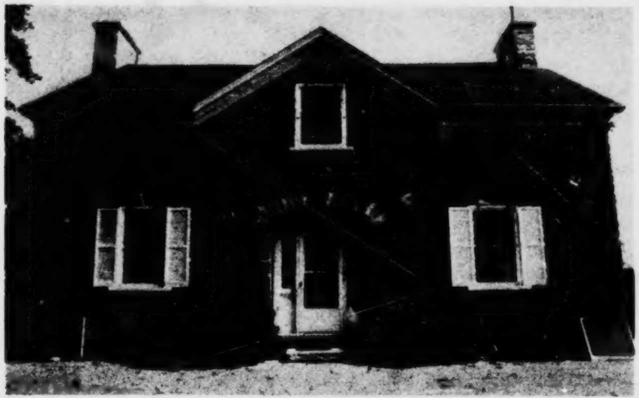
The pre-1880 houses recorded in the Rideau Corridor cover a span of 64 years and include log, stone, frame and brick construction. Approximately 70 per cent of the 1,677 houses recorded are located on farms or in small communities and the balance in the larger centres of Perth, Smith's Falls, Merrickville and Kemptville. Most of the houses were constructed between 1830 and 1860 by emigrants from England, Scotland, Ireland and the United States.

The majority of the houses were of the same basic form, differing only in details which reflect either the origin of their builders or owners, or the period of construction and the nature of the building materials used. They are generally rectangular, end-gabled structures with a chimney at each end; the main entrance door is centrally located on the long wall, and the windows are symmetrically arranged. Most of the houses recorded are 1½ storeys high and have either a straight eave line or a small decorative gable over the main entrance in which there is a decorative window or sometimes a door. Examples of the typical stone houses recorded are illustrated by the house in North Gower township (Fig. 2) and the house in Heckston (Fig. 3). The only deviation from the end-gabled form which occurs with any frequency in the Rideau area is a 1½-storey front-gable design with an off-centre door. This style is usually found in frame or brick houses in the area but is rarely seen in stone.

Influences of all the architectural styles that were popular in pre-1880 Upper Canada are seen to some degree in the detailing of houses of the Rideau Corridor. The influence of the Classical


2

2 The simple lines, unbroken eave and general proportions of this stone house, built about 1832 in Heckston, South Gower township, are typical of the earlier houses in the Rideau area.


3

3 "Thunderwood Farm" built about 1840 in North Gower township (Con. 1. Lot 23), with its centre front gable, end chimneys and decorative doorway is typical in design of many of the houses in the Rideau Corridor including those of frame and brick as well as stone.

Revival predominates, however, since it was the current style in the country at the time when most of the recorded houses were built. Except for the Adamesque fanlight transom and the decorative Gothic trim, evidence of the other architectural styles is quite limited. Generally speaking, the architecture of the houses is basically very simple in form and detailing, dependent for effect almost entirely on good proportions. The restraint in detailing is an asset and the result a heritage of simple, classically proportioned structures outstanding for their consistently good design.

The earliest building recorded in the survey is the "Red House" in Perth, erected in 1816 (Fig. 4). It is constructed of logs, probably the most common type of building material in the early settlement days in the Rideau area. Logs were used for houses, schools, shops and barns, and many a fine stone house for which the area is now renowned was preceded by a hastily erected log cabin. However, despite the large number of log houses built throughout the period, relatively few have survived in their original, unsurfaced form and only approximately 100 were recorded. There are undoubtedly a great many more surviving, but these are not readily discernible, being sheathed in clapboard, brick or some form of composition siding. Others have been relegated for use as farm outbuildings or, having been abandoned, are now disintegrating under the forces of wind and weather.

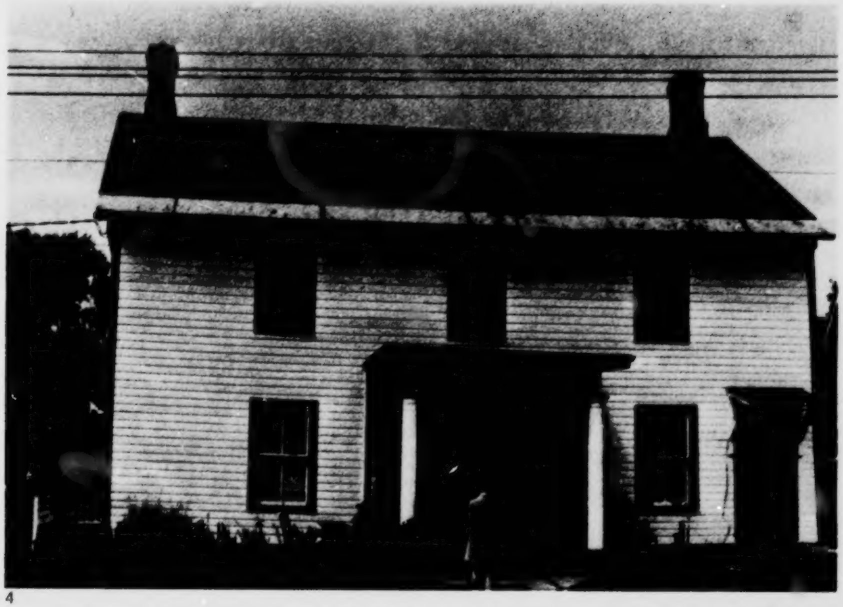
The surviving cabins with log walls exposed are very simple structures. They are rectangular in shape, usually seven to nine logs high, and with an end-gabled roof. With small gable windows in each end they could be termed 1½-storey buildings, although this second-storey space was often left unfinished or treated as attic space only. When a ceiling (or second floor) was provided, the ceiling logs were notched into the walls at about the level of the seventh log, as can be seen, for example, on a cabin in Ashton (Fig. 5).

In plan, the cabins are very simple, consisting of one or two rooms with a stairway or ladder to the upper level as required. The entrance door is most often centred on the long wall, and is flanked by a window symmetrically located on either side, or on one side only if the cabin is very small. Typical examples of the two styles are shown in Figures 6 and 7, the former in Wolford township and the latter in North Gower township. A balanced window arrangement and slightly off-centre door is used, too, on several of the cabins recorded. This rather curious elevation appears on clapboard, stucco and brick houses in the area as well, suggesting their log cabin origins. Compare, for example, the elevation of the cabin in Montague township (Fig. 8) with that of the stucco house in South Gower township (Fig. 9).

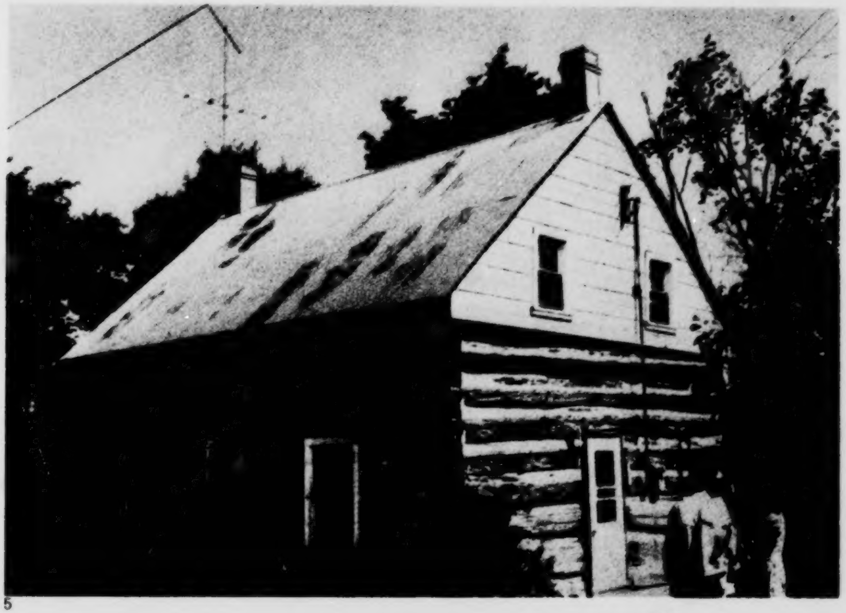
The log cabins were originally erected without basements and rested on a log sill, but many have now acquired concrete block foundations. The logs were roughly squared and usually secured with dovetailed keying. Chinking was generally a mortar mix, probably with wood-chip infill as required and, depending on the quality of the logs available, varying greatly in width. Roofs of the log buildings were commonly finished with wood shingles. Although no examples were seen, it is nonetheless possible that the original roofs of the earliest cabins in the area were the "trough" type (hollowed out tree trunks laid at right angles to the roof ridge with the hollows alternately up and down). Most of the roof finishes of the log buildings recorded have been replaced over the years with asphalt shingles or metal, but the

4 The "Red House" in Perth. Now painted white, this log building (originally an inn) acquired a finish of red clapboard siding in 1865 at the suggestion of the Prince of Wales during his visit to Perth in 1860.

5 Log cabin in Ashton, Goulbourn township. Ends of log beams supporting the upper floor can be seen on the front elevation.



4



5

wood-shingled roof of the cabin in North Gower township (Fig. 7) could well be the original finish.

The early cabins were heated by a single untrimmed stone fireplace located in a gable wall. Very often the back of this fireplace was flush with the exterior side of the log wall and consequently exposed. Few examples of these fireplaces were recorded but the typical style is that shown in a cabin, now demolished, in Storrington township (Fig. 10). Early chimneys were of stone and generous in size to accommodate the large fireplace flues. In rare instances they have an exterior projecting ledge at roof level intended to protect the junction of chimney and roof, a practice that unfortunately was not too successful. When stoves became readily available (in the late 1830s), they replaced the less convenient open hearth, and brick replaced stone in chimney construction.

Windows of the log buildings recorded are, without exception, all double-hung. Some of the original small-paned sash still survive, though the most common design recorded consists of two movable sash, each containing six panes. A typical example is seen on the cabin in Goulbourn township (Fig. 11). The dormer or gable windows on a number of log cabins in the area are most likely later additions.

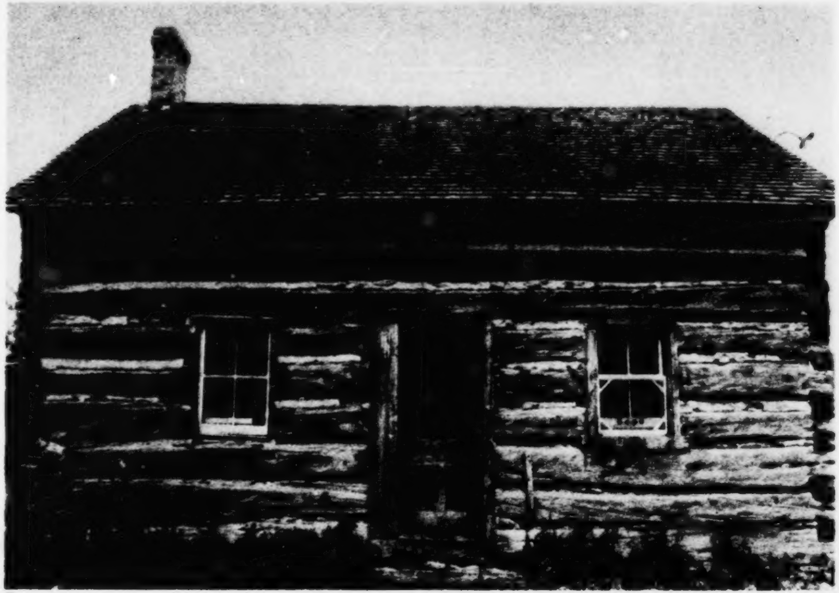
Low, wide doors were typical of early cabins and an example survives in a cabin in Montague township (Figs. 12, 13). The doorway, while typical in size, is unusual in design, for few cabins had entranceways with

6 Log cabin in Wolford township (Con. A, Lot 11), of typical centre-door design.
7 Log cabin in North Gower township (Con. 3, Lot 39).

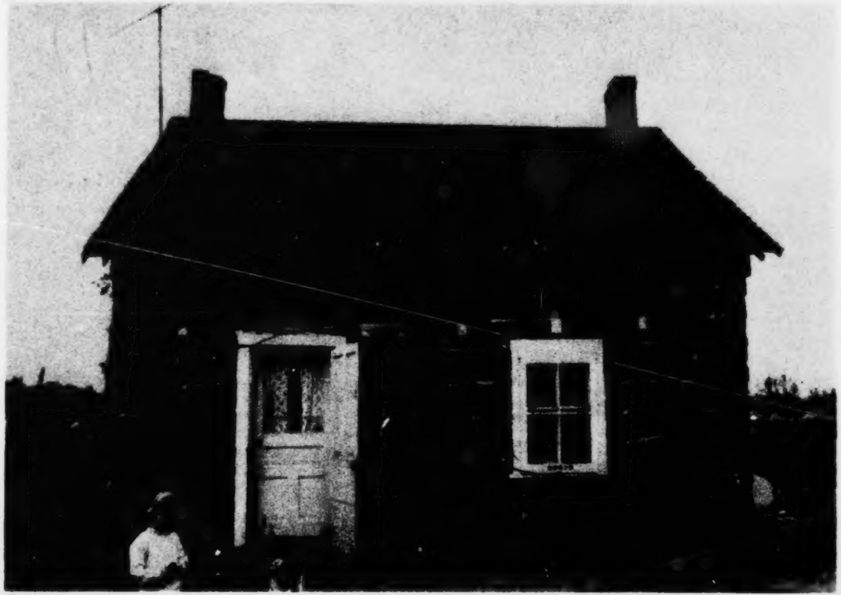
side-lights or even a transom. Door and window openings were generally finished with very plain trim but a few, such as the cabin in Montague township (Fig. 14) have a triangular pediment which was popular in Canada during the period of the Classical Revival (1830-50).

Since log cabins were built in much the same way throughout the 19th century, and even into the 20th century in some areas of Ontario, dating them without documentation is practically impossible. Few have enough architectural detailing to identify them with a particular style period, and many have been extensively altered or concealed by later additions. Signs of early construction would be the presence of a stone fireplace or evidence that it had existed, such as a missing section of logs in the lower part of the gable wall; large stone chimneys; low, squat door or window openings, and multiple-paned windows (these sometimes can be found on the rear of the building if the front ones are new).

It should be remembered, however, that design and construction of these log cabins depended very much on the skill of the builder and the materials available to him and may reflect just that rather than the date of construction. Crudely built cabins in isolated rural areas might well be contemporary with or even later in date than the carefully constructed and detailed examples found elsewhere.



6



7

8 Log cabin in Montague township (Con. 3 Lot 20), an example of the off-centre door design.

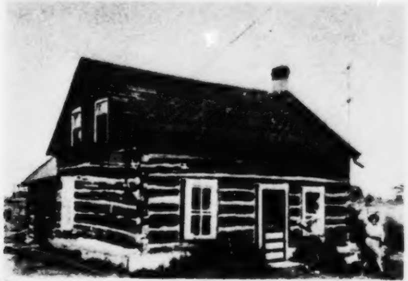
9 Once "Wilson's Bay" post office in South Gower township (Con. BF, Lot 40). The style and proportions of this stucco house readily suggest its original log construction.

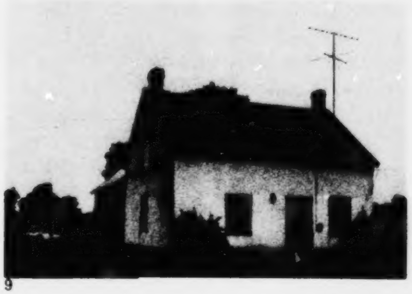
10 Typical early stone fireplace. Storrington township (Con. 8, Lot 9). Now demolished.

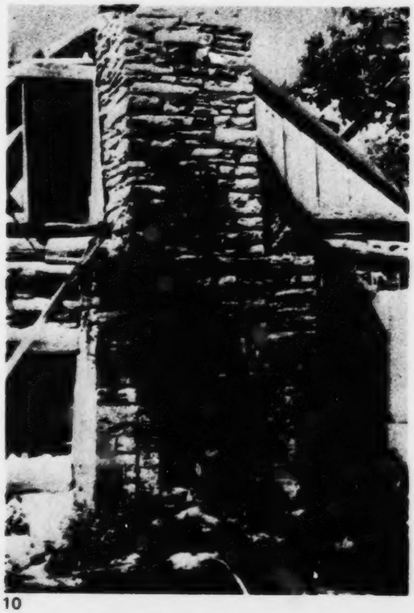
11 Log cabin in Goulbourn township (Con. 8, Lot 2) still retaining its original small paned windows.

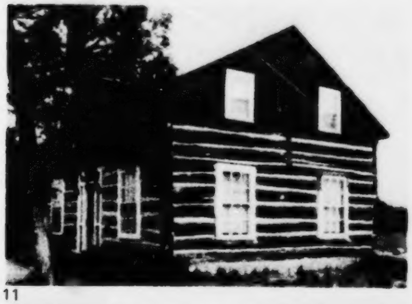
12 Cabin in Montague township (Con. 4, Lot 22), with 13 the low door itself typical of the early cabins but the door surround very atypical in design.

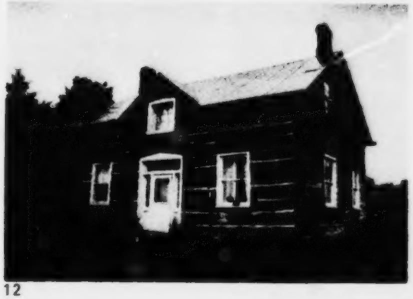
14 Log cabin in Montague township (Con. 4, Lot 24) with pedimented trim.

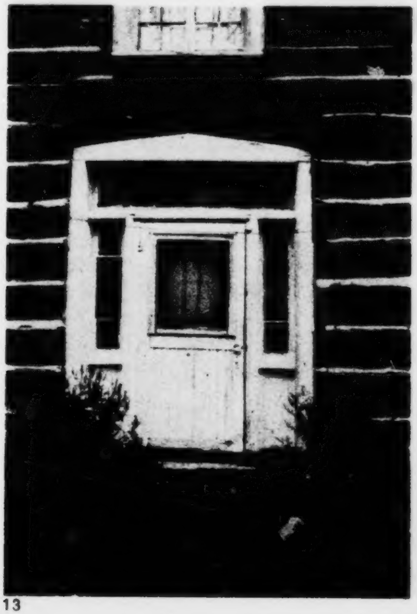

8

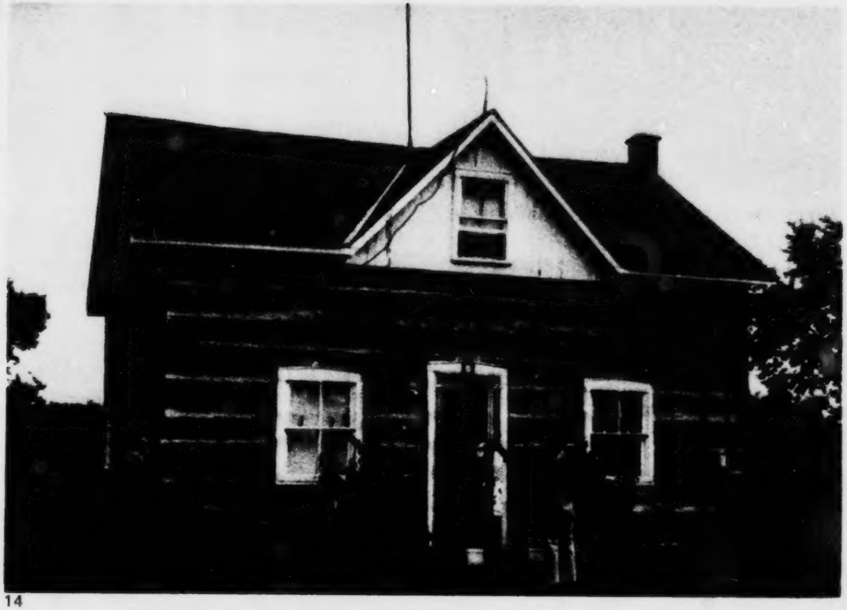

9


10


11


12


13


14

Over 400 stone houses were recorded and these are, with few exceptions, of the basic end-gabled design, 1½ storeys high with end chimneys and usually a gable over the front door. Many have a rear wing, built at the same time as the original structure or a few years later to provide either the main kitchen or a summer kitchen, and in a few instances a carriage house as well.

Roof pitches of the earliest gabled stone houses were pleasantly low, probably reflecting a Scottish influence and contrasting markedly with the steeply pitched gable roofs of the very early stone buildings of Quebec. Most stone houses built after 1835 recorded in the Rideau area have medium-pitched roofs, designed to provide as much living space on the second floor as possible and to avoid the construction costs and increased tax assessment of the full two-storey house. The occasional hip-roofed stone house was built and later in the period a few steeply pitched roofs occur, the latter reflecting the influence of the Gothic Revival style.

Most of the houses are constructed of coursed or uncoursed sandstone or limestone squared rubble, and sometimes dressed stone quoins were used. Mortar has been very generously applied on some to the extent that it covers much of the stonework. Plaster or "rough-cast" has been added as a protective finish to others, but much of this has since fallen away or been removed by recent owners. On a few, this plaster finish has been scored to resemble ashlar, as on the large Haggart-Shortt house in Perth (Fig. 15). Others have a cut-stone front and rubble sides. A fine example of this type of finish is the Stephen Merrick Classical Revival house in Merrickville (Fig. 16).

Foundation walls are of coarsely laid rubble or fieldstone, two to three feet thick. Often there is an additional supporting stone wall about 18 inches thick centrally located in the basement and running the length of the house. The main supporting beams are of logs, often with the bark still on them, and range in size from 8 to 12 inches in diameter. The upper walls are approximately two feet thick on the smaller houses, but are thicker than this on some of the taller two-storey buildings, such as the William Merrick house in Merrickville (Fig. 17) where the walls of the first floor level are four feet thick, tapering to two feet at the top level. Rafters and ridge-poles are occasionally of unsawn logs about six inches in diameter but most often they are of sawn lumber either butted or, in better types of construction, fastened with wooden pegs. Framing timbers in some of the early buildings display adze marks or marks of the old pit saw. More commonly found, however, are the marks of the circular saw which came into general use in the 1840s. Floor and roof boards generally average 8 to 10 inches in width but 12- to 14-inch widths are often seen in the larger and earlier buildings. The interior finish on the stone walls was commonly plaster applied over split cedar or sawn lath or, in a few instances, directly to the stone wall. Interior partitions were usually finished in lath and plaster, but those made of vertical butted boards covered with wallpaper were also seen.

The majority of the stone houses have a centre-hall plan, the smaller ones having a "boxed" stair (enclosed on both sides) with one large room on one side and two small ones on the other. Larger houses had a wider stair hall, giving access to the rear of the house and also permitting the use of a decorative stair rail and newel post. In some of the smaller, early houses the second floor was not divided and served as a dormitory type of accommodation. However, in the larger houses second floors were partitioned and by mid-century, when heating stoves were used, "heat holes" were provided between adjacent rooms to permit the passage of warm air from a stove located in one of the rooms or in the hallway. Basements in a few of the early houses, such as the Nabert house in Burritts Rapids, were fully finished and contained kitchens with trimmed fireplace openings and bake-ovens; others have huge cisterns, but many were unfinished or excavated only enough to provide a cold-storage area.

Heating of the early stone houses depended almost entirely on fireplaces, but since only one fireplace was exempt from taxation, few of the smaller houses have more than two, one in the kitchen for cooking and another in the parlour. Larger houses often have at least one additional fireplace located in the master bedroom, and, depending on the size of the house and the wealth of the owner, fireplaces in other rooms also. For example the Harris-Radenhurst-Inderwicke house in Perth (Fig. 18) has five and a kitchen cooking fireplace as well. The chimneys of the stone houses are located on the ridge of the roof at each gable end and are constructed of stone and of generous proportions particularly where designed for two flues (*see* Fig. 19).

15 The Haggart-Shortt house in Perth; an early hip-roofed design in stone, plastered and scored to resemble ashlar. It was erected in 1837 for John Haggart, a miller from Scotland.

16 Erected in 1844 in Merrickville by Stephen Merrick, son of the founder of Merrickville, the front of this rubble stone house is of ashlar detailed in the style of the Classical Revival, including cut-stone pilasters at each end.

17 William Merrick house in Merrickville, built about 1820. The verandah and decorative bargeboard are later additions.

18 Harris-Radenhurst-Inderwicke house in Perth, originally built in 1824, with the front gable added many years later, and having one of the most handsome doorways in the Rideau Corridor. On the grounds is a plaque commemorating Canada's last duel which took place in the area in 1833.

19 Stone house in Drummond township (Con. 3, Lot 3) with the broad chimneys typical of the early designs.

15

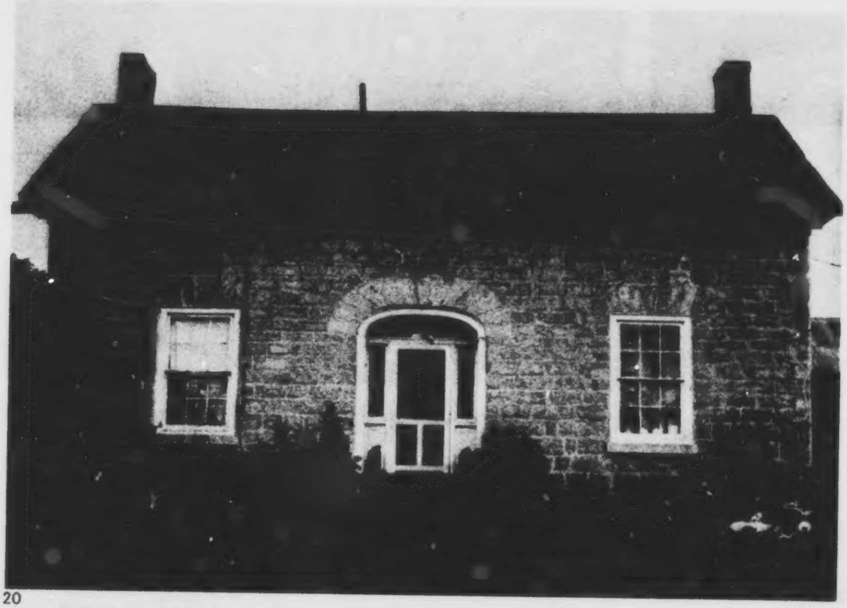
16

17

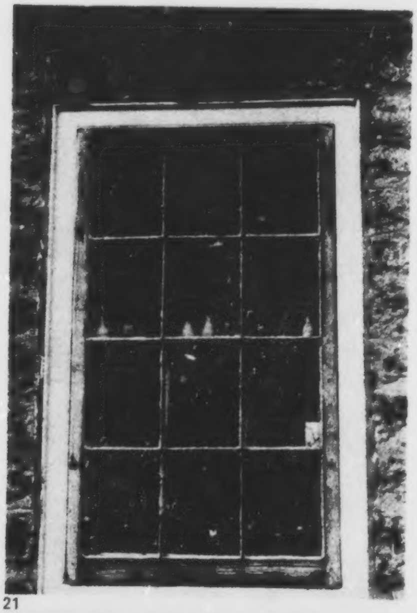
18

19

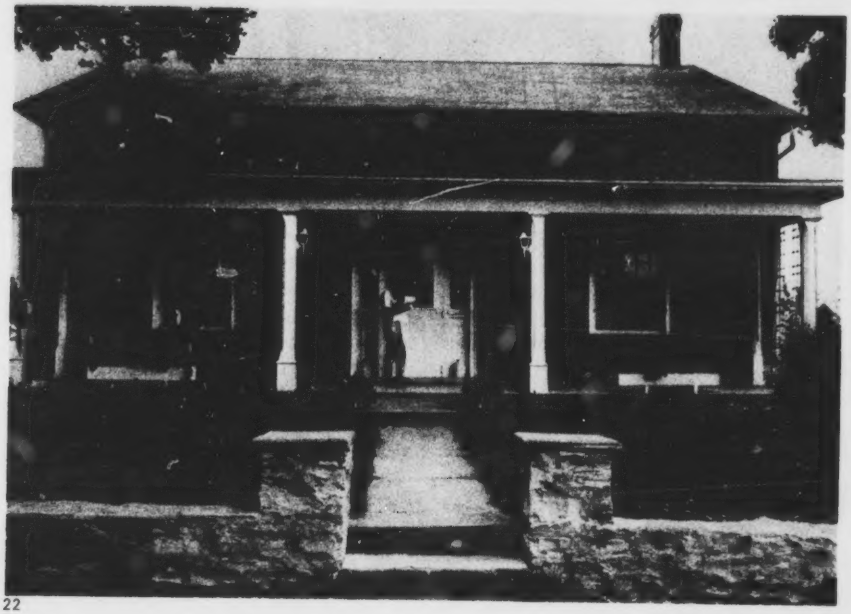
20 Typical twelve-pane, slim mullioned windows seen
21 on a stone house in South Crosby township (Con. 2, Lot 10).
22 House on Mountain Road near Westport, North
23 Crosby township, built in the mid-19th century with large, handsome multi-paned sash.



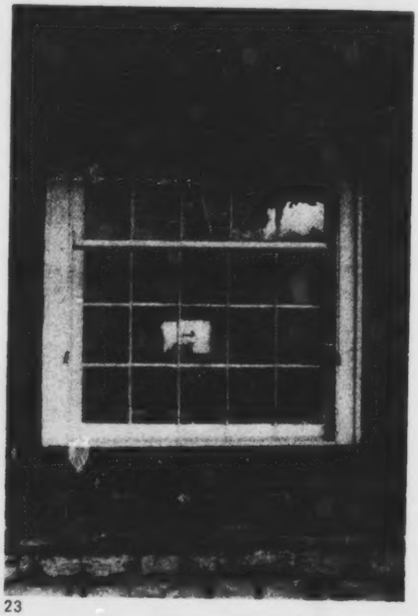
20



21



22



23

When stoves became readily available in the late 1830s, one chimney served the kitchen fireplace and the other the stove which was used for heating rather than cooking. It then became a mark of style and affluence to build a house without any fireplace at all to indicate the ownership of both cooking and heating appliances. Cook-stoves and heaters, however, were accompanied by an unattractive and dangerous array of stove-pipes leading to rooms on the upper floors and to the two chimneys which continued to be located at each gable end. Concealed pipes and central heating furnaces were unknown in the 1850s in the Rideau Corridor.

Considering the heating problems, most of the stone houses are designed with a surprisingly large number of windows. The main windows were almost invariably rectangular in shape, symmetrically arranged on each elevation and with untrimmed openings and sills of cut stone or wood. Since in the early 19th century glass was available only in small sizes, windows were multiple paned, the common pane size being approximately 7½ inches by 9½ inches. Nearly all of the windows were double hung (the casement type is rarely seen), and the most popular sash size was three panes wide by four high, actual dimensions varying with the size of the glass. A good example of a typical window may be seen on a house in South Crosby township (Figs. 20, 21), and an example of the same type only larger (and less common) on the house built near Westport (Figs. 22, 23). An interesting deviation from the standard style was a triple sash design with a large central sash flanked by slimmer ones on either side. Sometimes called a "Venetian window," it can be seen with the original small panes intact on the house in Inverary (Figs. 24, 25).

The front gable window on those stone houses having a broken eave line was treated as a decorative as well as a practical feature. The most common style was the semi-circular head such as is seen on a handsome house in Bastard township (Fig. 26). Oval and half-round, pointed Gothic, flatter Tudor and even Ogee arched windows were also used but not in sufficient quantity or concentration to suggest any style development pattern. They were more apt to be the result of the fancy of the builder or owner, or of the millwork available in the particular area at the time. Typical examples of these less common but more decorative designs of front gable windows are illustrated in Figures 27 to 31.

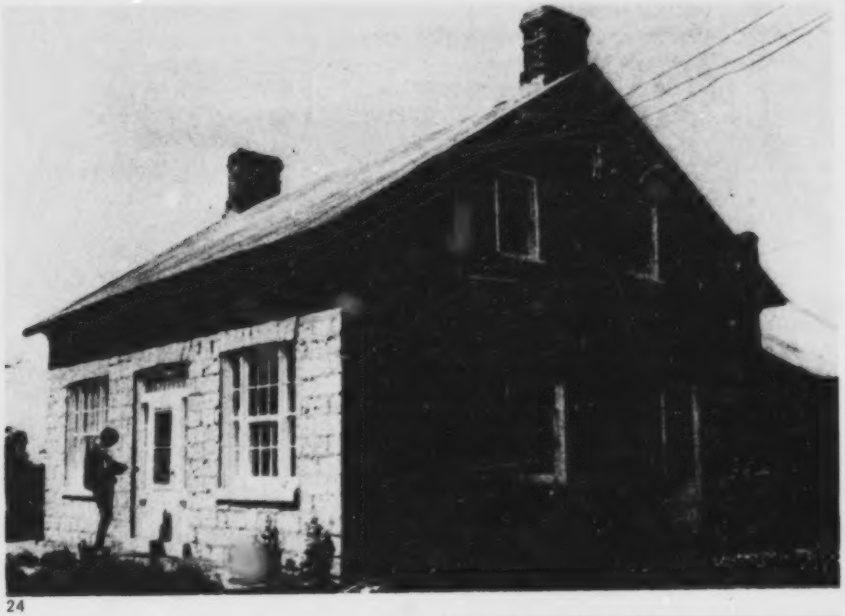
On the better houses, eaves, whether straight or broken by a front gable, were trimmed with a few well-proportioned classical mouldings and returned on adjacent walls as seen on the house in Bastard township (Fig. 32). In addition to moulded eaves a few houses have decorative cornices as well, a handsome example being the well detailed house in Oxford township (Fig. 33). Here mutule blocks of the very early Classical Revival style are seen combined with a carefully detailed frieze on both the main part of the building and the wing. Less elaborate but more frequently seen is the cornice with dentil trim such as exists on the mid-century house in South Elmsley township (Fig. 34).

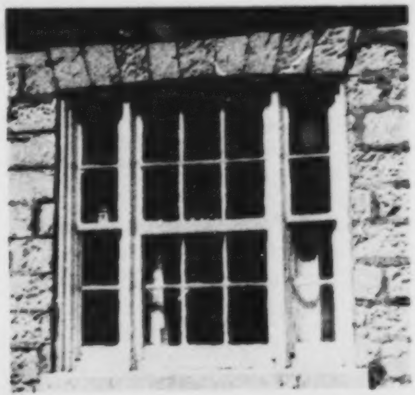
The main entranceway of the end-gabled stone houses which, as noted earlier, is located on the long wall is usually the most decorative feature of the house. Examples of the original doors themselves indicate that entrance doors were wide and handsomely paneled, most often in a six-panel design as seen on the house in North Elmsley township (Fig. 35). The more elaborate eight-panel pattern is found on the door of a house in South Crosby township (Fig. 36) and a seven-panel variation can be seen on a house in Prospect (Fig. 37). Doors were often placed flush with the interior surface of the thick stone wall and the resulting embrasure was finished in wood paneling. A fine example of such a doorway is the entrance to the house shown in Figure 36.

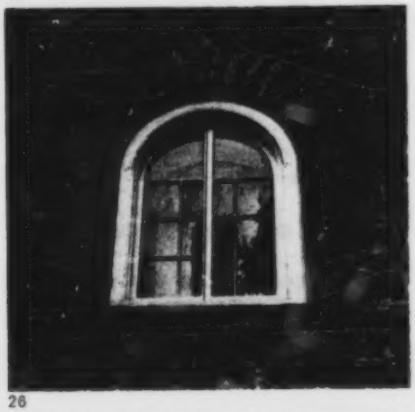
Customarily doors were further enhanced by the addition of a transom and sidelights, which were practical as well as decorative features. The transoms on the early buildings were minimal in size and semi-circular or semi-elliptical in shape. The practical need for additional light in the entrance hall resulted in the provision of sidelights, and this in turn necessitated a wider transom. These wider transoms were either semi-elliptical or rectangular, the former design predominating in the late 1820s and the latter superseding it in the mid-1830s. All three transom designs – semi-circular, semi-elliptical or rectangular – are direct reflections of the architectural style popular at the time of their construction.

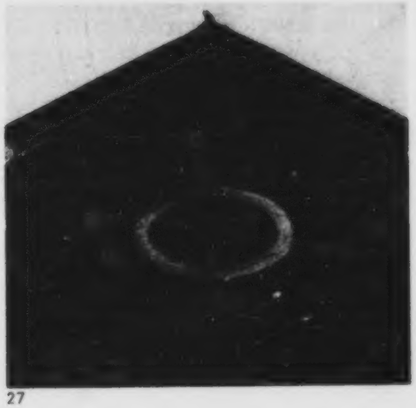
When the first stone houses were erected in the Rideau Corridor the influence of the British Renaissance or Georgian style was very evident. Although smaller in size, the houses have the solid proportions and balanced

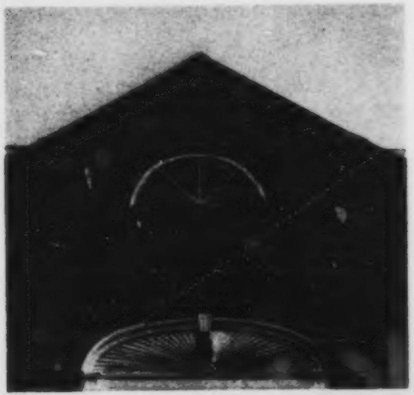
24 "Venetian" windows on a stone house in Inverary,
25 Storrington township.
26 Front gable windows of typical semi-circular design built in the 1850s in Bastard township (Con. 3, Lot 23).
27 Gable windows. Adamesque oval, Oxford township (Con. 3, Lot 24).
28 Gable windows. Classical Revival half-round, Oxford township (Con. 1, Lot 1).
29 Gable windows. Ogee design, Osgoode township (Con. 1, Lot 9).


24


25

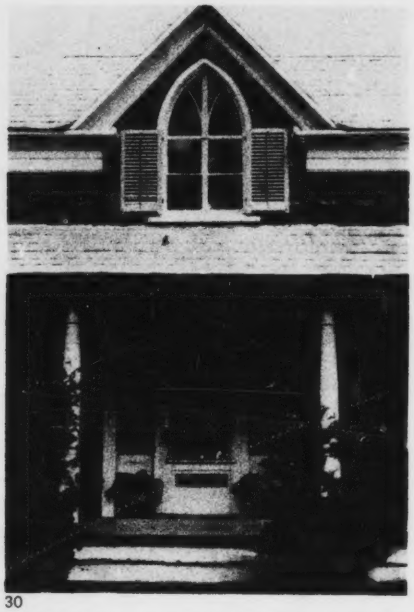

26

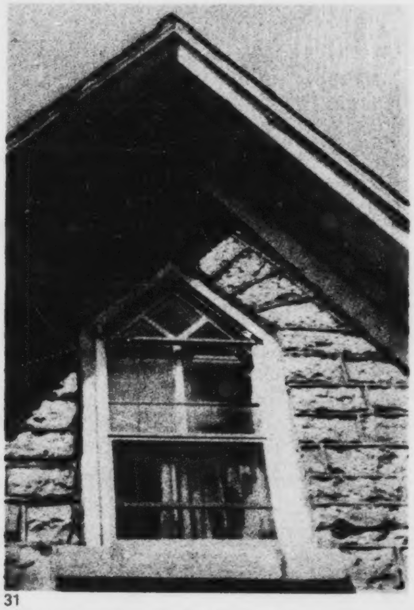

27

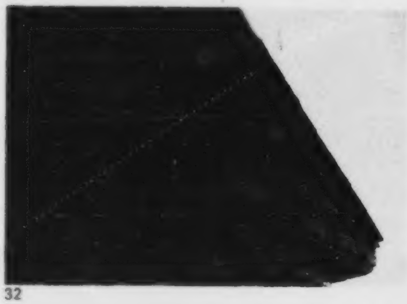

28

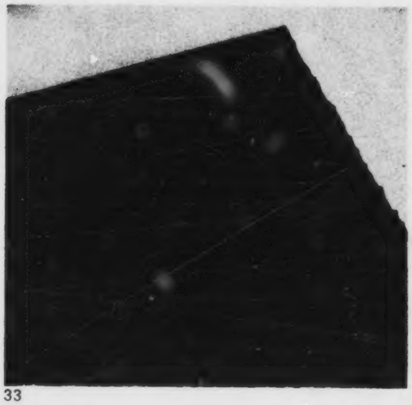
30 Gable windows. Gothic Revival, Oxford township (Con. 1, Lot 2).
31 Gable windows. "Carpenter's Gothic" built in 1843 in Glenburnie, Kingston township.
32 Moulded trim of classical design on a house in Bastard township (Con. 2, Lot 25).
33 Unusually elaborate cornice in Oxford township (Con. 1, Lot 1).
34 Classical mouldings and dentil trim on a house in South Elmsley township (Con. 2, Lot 21). This trim is repeated on the entranceway (*see* Fig. 46).

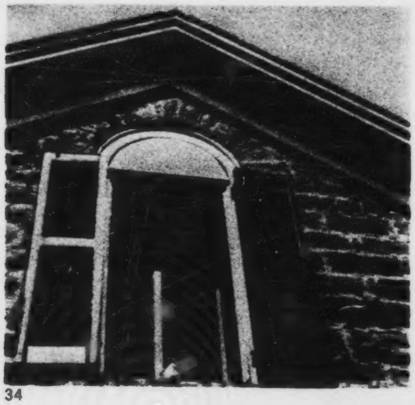
29


30


31


32


33

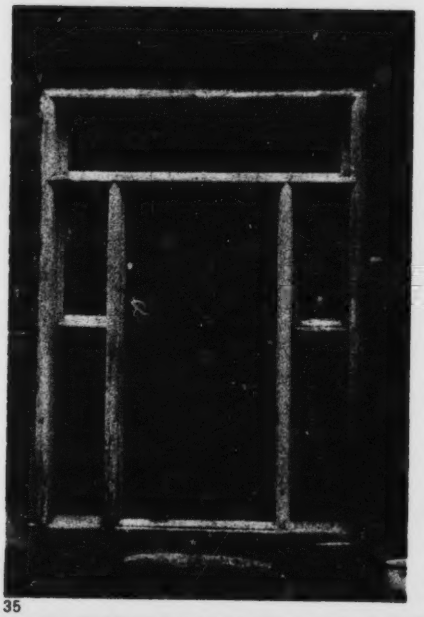

34

35 The six-panel door on this house in North Elmsley township (Con. 7, Lot 3) is the style most commonly seen on the stone houses where the original doors remain.

36 A very handsome eight-panel door with a paneled embrasure, built about 1860 in South Crosby township (Con 2, Lot 14).

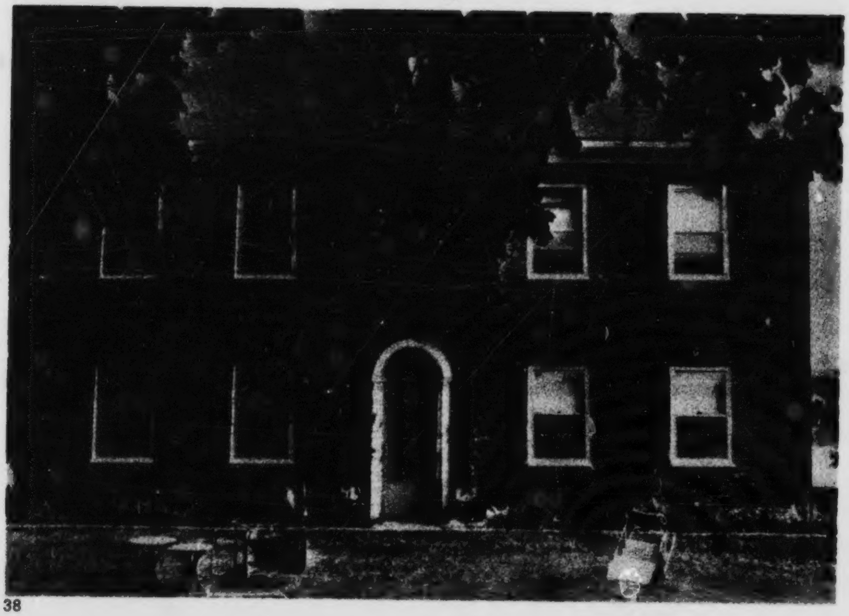
37 Seven-panel door design in Prospect, Beckwith township.

38 Chester-McCabe house, Montague township (Con.
39 A, Lot 5), was built in 1830 by John Chester in the sturdy British Renaissance style typical of the eary two-storey stone houses along the Rideau.


35

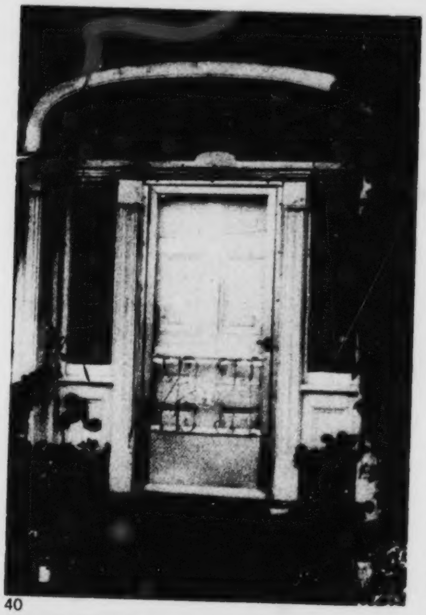
36

37

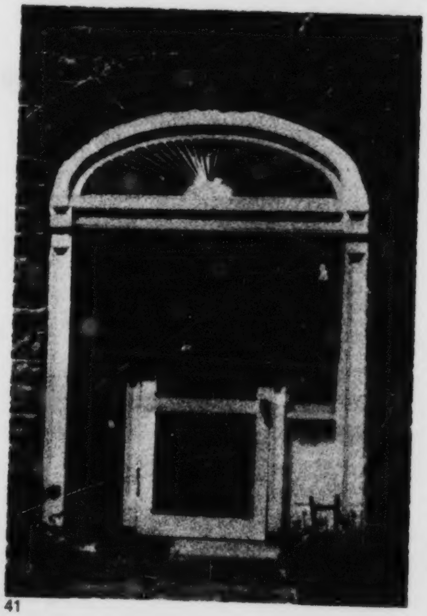

38

39

40 Classical mouldings and symmetrical trim on an 1854 house in Bastard township (Con. 3, Lot 23).
41 Wooden louvres and paneled trim in Wolford township (Con. C, Lot 1).



40



41

façades associated with the early Georgian structures. Doorways on the houses of this early design, such as the Chester-McCabe house in Montague township (Fig. 38), are narrow and usually have a small semi-circular transom.

The semi-elliptical shape of the wider transom introduced in the mid-1820s was a direct reflection of the Adamesque style popular in Upper Canada at that time. The Adamesque style was developed in England in the 18th century by the brothers Adam, a trio of English architects whose work was characterized by delicacy of detail and the use of the curved line; ovals and ellipses became popular art forms and appeared on interiors as decorative trim, and on exteriors as small decorative windows and door transoms. The semi-elliptical or fanlight transom quickly became a distinguishing feature of the style known as the "Adam style" in England, the "Federal style" in the United States and the "Adamesque" in Canada. It was popular in Canada from about 1825 to 1835 and, as with most of the 19th-century style developments in Upper Canada, reflected both British and American influences. The fanlight transom, however, seems to have been brought to the Rideau area by the Loyalist settlers. So firmly established was this association that in one part of the corridor at least, the fanlight-transomed door was known as the "Loyalist door" and was said to have been used on their houses by those who wanted all to know that a United Empire Loyalist dwelt therein.

The semi-elliptical transom was used extensively in the Rideau Corridor from Perth to Kingston during the late 1820s and early 1830s and occasionally until mid-century. Well over 100 were recorded, and while all were similar in design, only four were identical in detail. Variations were found in the trim of the opening, which was moulded or had pilasters or symmetrical trim. Some of the transoms have wooden louvres rather than glass, and in a few instances simple tracery in wood has been used on both transom and sidelights. A very handsome example of symmetrical trim appears on the entranceway of a house in Bastard township (Fig. 40); an attractive design with wooden louvres is seen in the pre-1855 house in Wolford township (Fig. 41), and a fine example of wood tracery occurs on the very attractive entranceway of the Harris-Radenhurst-Inderwicke house in Perth (Fig. 42).

Rectangular transoms, a style development of the Classical Revival period, came into use in the Rideau area in the mid-1830s and soon superseded the semi-elliptical shape throughout the corridor.

The Classical Revival style, based on the details of both Greek and Roman architectural design, was both an English and an American revival during the last quarter of the 18th century, with the English emphasizing the work of Greece and the Americans that of Rome. Its development in England was stimulated by the increasing interest there in Greece, due partially to the growing scholarly knowledge of the arts of classical Greece, access to these treasures and sympathy with Greece in her war of independence with the Turks. In America it was popularized by Thomas Jefferson's enthusiastic selection of the classical ar-

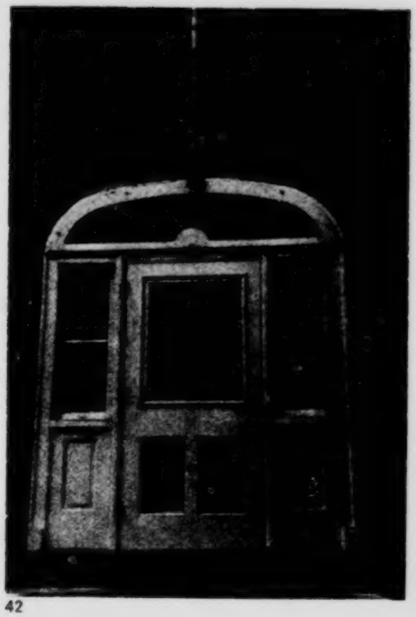
42 Graceful tracery in wood on the Harris-Radenhurst-Inderwicke house in Perth (*see* Fig. 18 for a full view of this house).

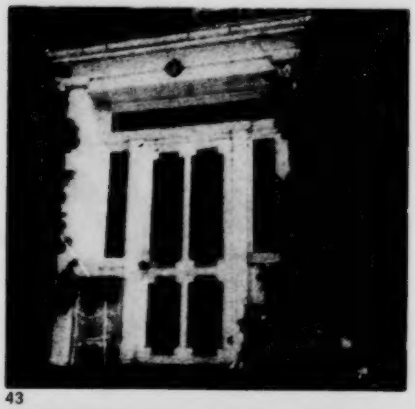
43 Rectangular transom on a stone house built in 1847 with an interesting early screen door, Oxford township (Con. 8, Lot 27).

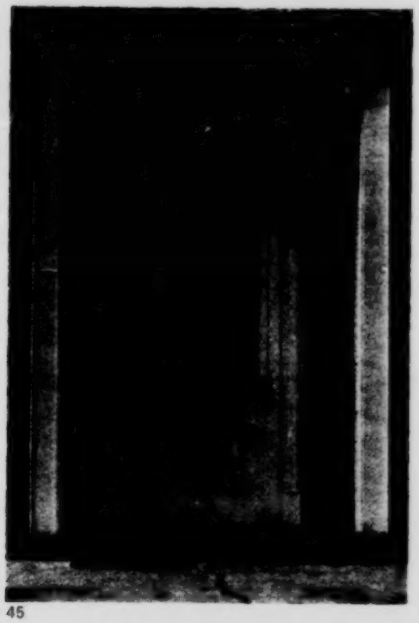
44 Entrance porch and door of Stephen Merrick house in Merrickville (*see* Fig. 16 for a full view of this house).

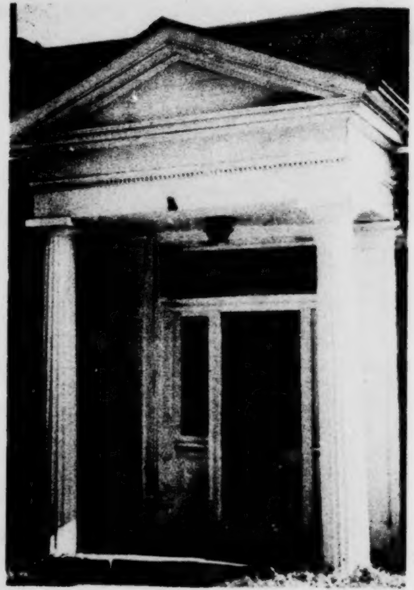
45 Entrance to Cattin Hall in North Crosby township (Con. 7, Lot 8) built about 1837.

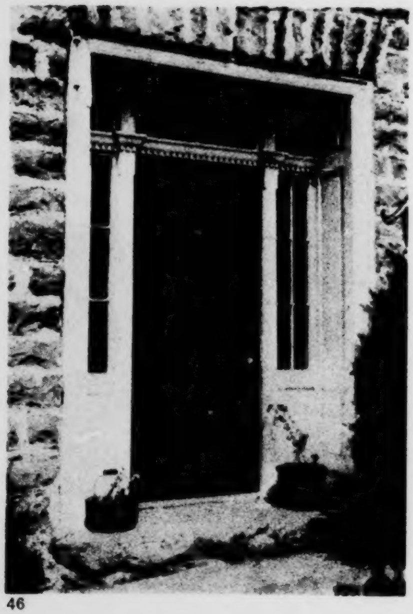
46 Dentil-trimmed doorway in South Elmsley township (Con. 2, Lot 21) built in the 1850s.


42

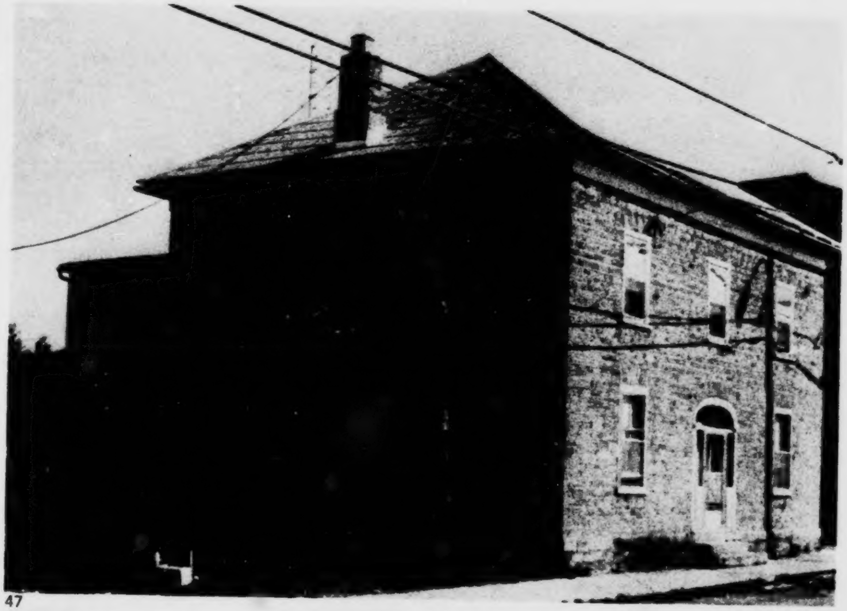

43

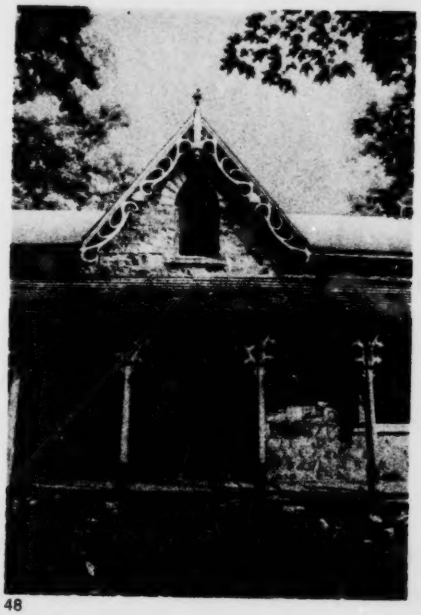

45

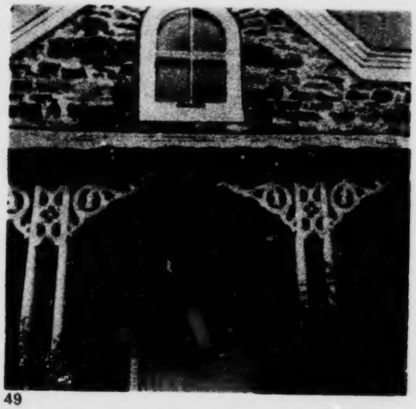

44


46

47 Ferguson house in Kemptville, built in 1840.
48 Gothic Revival detailing in North Elmsley township (Con. 10, Lot 29).
49 The Scottish thistle in the treillage design suggests the origin of the owner of this house, which was built in 1850 by James Lindsay in North Gower township (Con. 1, Lot 25) and has remained in the same family for five generations.


47


48


49

chitecture of the old Roman Republic as a perfect model for that of the new republic in America. This revival, which dictated the use of temple fronts on all manner of buildings from houses to railway stations, also dictated the use of classical mouldings, triangular pediments, pilasters, columns and, above all, the straight line. The ovals, arcs and ellipses of the Adamesque style disappeared and the graceful fanlight gave way to the slim rectangular transom.

Because of the popularity of the Classical Revival style which was heavy with moral implications, the rectangular transom had all but superseded the fanlight transom by the mid-1830s. However, the rectangular transomed doors could also be very handsome in design and while no pattern book basis has as yet been found for them, not a few of the very modest as well as the more splendid houses of the Rideau can boast a door done in the best tradition of the Classical Revival style. Details of trim and tracery used on these entranceways are very similar to those used with the semi-elliptical transoms. Well-detailed examples of the rectangular transom design can be seen on the houses in Oxford township (Fig. 43); the Stephen Merrick house in Merrickville (Fig. 44), displaying as well a porch in the same

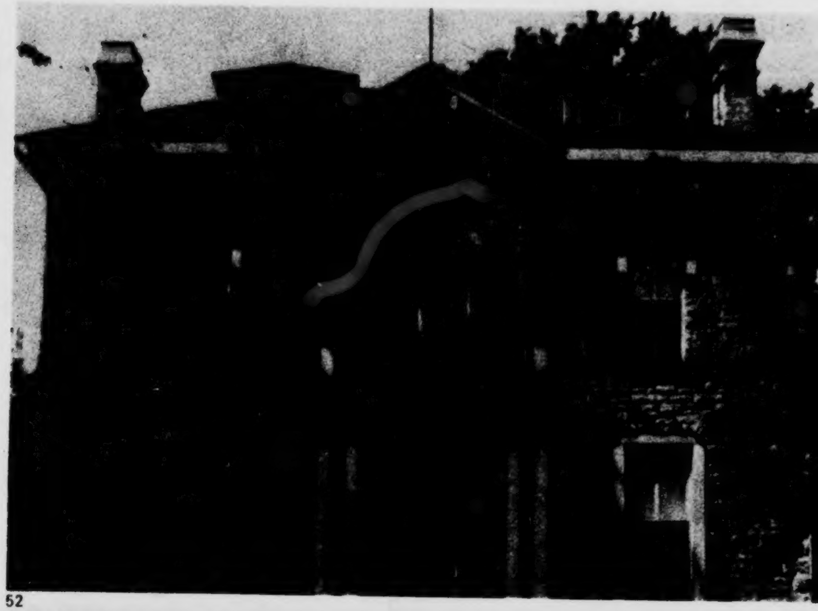
50 Verandah treillage on a stone house built in the late 1850s in South Burgess township (Con. 1, Lot 24).

51 Gothic gingerbread and sturdy finial on St. John's Presbytery in Perth.

52 Shaw house in Perth built in the early 1850s for $9,000, an example of the Italianate style as seen in the Rideau Corridor.

53 Phelan house, North Gower township (Con. 2, Lot 16), with emphatic detailing of Italianate influence. This house, built in the 1860s, also has a handsome arched entranceway into the carriage shed located in the rear wing.

50


52

51

53

style with fluted columns and moulded fascia; Cattin Hall near Westport (Fig. 45), and a house in South Elmsley township (Fig. 46). Comparison of the latter two (built about 20 years apart) shows the change in proportions which occurred on the later (1845-60) buildings when doorways became somewhat narrower and taller.

While the Classical Revival was the most influential style in the design of the stone houses in the Rideau Corridor, exceptions are seen as well. The earlier structures show the influence of the Regency style, whose development in the area was concurrent with that of the Classical Revival. Distinguishing features of this style include the use of the hip roof, verandahs, tall first-floor windows and single or double pairs of large, important chimneys. An interesting example of the early Regency hip-roof design combined with the fanlight door of the preceding Adamesque period is the Ferguson house in Kemptville (Fig. 47). This particular house is interesting for other reasons too, having been built with funds originally collected for the use of the infamous Hunters Lodge whose members were pledged to assist the rebels during the Rebellion of 1838. In an ironic turn of fate, it later became well known as the home of the Honourable Howard Ferguson, premier of Ontario from 1923 to 1930.

Toward mid-century, the design details of the new stone houses were more apt to be in keeping with the later architectural styles in the corridor; for example, the house in North Elmsley township (Fig. 48) shows the sharply pointed gable and gingerbread trim typical of the Gothic Revival style as applied to domestic buildings. Attractive examples of such trim used on stone houses in the Rideau Corridor are shown in Figures 49 to 51. The original Shaw house in Perth (Fig. 52) has the projecting frontispiece, wide bracketed eaves and semi-circular-headed decorative windows of the Italianate style, which became popular from about 1850 on but is not seen to any extent in stone in the Rideau area. Another example of the few recorded of this Italianate influence in stone house design is seen in the bracketed eaves and gable window of the Phelan house built in the 1860s in North Gower township (Fig. 53).

Regardless of their particular architectural style or the fact that they constitute a relatively small percentage of the total number of buildings recorded in the survey, these stone houses are as a group undoubtedly the most outstanding feature of the architecture of the Rideau Corridor, distinguished not only in design and craftsmanship but in historical connotation as well.

Frame Houses

The early frame houses of the area followed the same general form and plan as their stone counterparts. The majority were 1½-storey, end-gabled buildings having either a straight eave line or a gable over the centrally located front door. Later in the period another style was introduced: the front gable house with an off-centre door and side-hall plan. The front gable design was a derivation of the temple-fronted house which was popularized in the United States during the period of the Classical Revival.

This front gable plan became increasingly popular as towns developed since its relatively narrow width suited the smaller street frontage which town planning economics favoured. Consequently in the Rideau area, particularly in the small communities, frame buildings of this style are seen with increasing frequency from the 1860s on. In due course a side wing was added, resulting in the L-shaped plan. This L-shaped plan, which was very popular toward the latter part of the century in all parts of rural Ontario, was not extensively used in the Rideau area before 1880; consequently few examples were recorded and they were as often in brick as in frame.

Basic construction of the frame houses, except of course for the exterior walls, was similar to those of stone. Foundation walls were of rubble and log beams were frequently used. Although mill-sawn framing lumber was available and used in some houses at an early date, in many instances it was apparently quicker and more economical to cut all timber on the site. Exterior walls were probably filled with grout, but to what extent this type of infill was used is difficult to determine since structural examination of the walls was rarely possible in the survey. Again, due to the limitations of the survey, no details were obtained of the wall framing methods used on the houses of the Rideau Corridor, but it is reasonable to assume that they followed the methods being used elsewhere in Upper Canada at the time. After 1830 when mass production of nails began and they became very inexpensive, the use of the balloon frame was favoured.

The exterior finish of the pre-1880 frame houses in the Rideau Corridor was almost invariably clapboard, usually narrower boards than the clapboard used today. Some stucco was used, as on the Benjamin Tett house in Newboro (Fig. 54); board and batten finish (Fig. 55) is seen in the towns and villages but rarely in rural areas, and no examples were recorded of a flushboard finish. Many of the original wood finishes are now concealed by composition covering or have been renewed or replaced, but a surprisingly large number have withstood 100 years of exposure to the elements, preserved to some extent by innumerable layers of paint.

As with the stone houses, heating of the early frame structures was by means of fireplaces and by mid-century, by stoves only. Chimneys were more apt to be of brick than stone but were still located at each end, except for the front-gable house where a single rear chimney or a rare centre chimney served both cook-stove and heaters. Windows of the frame houses are similar in design and size to those of the stone houses: openings are almost invariably rectangular in shape even for the front gable windows, if such exist. Entranceways are quite plain on the smaller frame houses, but on the larger ones rectangular transoms and sidelights are frequently seen.

Most of the earlier frame houses recorded are simple, basic structures lacking detailing of any kind; decorative detailing on those frame buildings where it does occur is most commonly in the Classical Revival style and initially again concentrated, as with the stone houses, on the front entrance. Toward mid-19th century, however, as the availability of finished millwork increased, the better frame buildings began to display more decorative detail than their stone counterparts. For example, while the house on Main Street in Newboro (Figs. 56, 57), built about 1860, has the classic door design used on contemporary stone buildings, a bracketed pediment has been added. And even when the rare fanlight transom is seen on a frame house such as on the residence in Bastard township dating from about 1860 (Figs. 58, 59), further embellishment has been added in keeping with the Classical Revival style. Window trim, too, became more decorative, the most popular form being the pedimented style seen on the house in Newboro (Fig. 60). This house also displays a classically designed door with rectangular transom and sidelights. Eaves, where trimmed, 54 Benjamin Tett house in Newboro, North Crosby township. Built in the late 1830s, it served as a store and post office as well as a home for Mr. Tett who was a member of the Canadian legislative assembly (1858-61) and of the Ontario legislature in 1867. The unusual door design with a small semi-circular transom and sidelights and quarter-circle windows in the end gables are notable architectural features of the design.

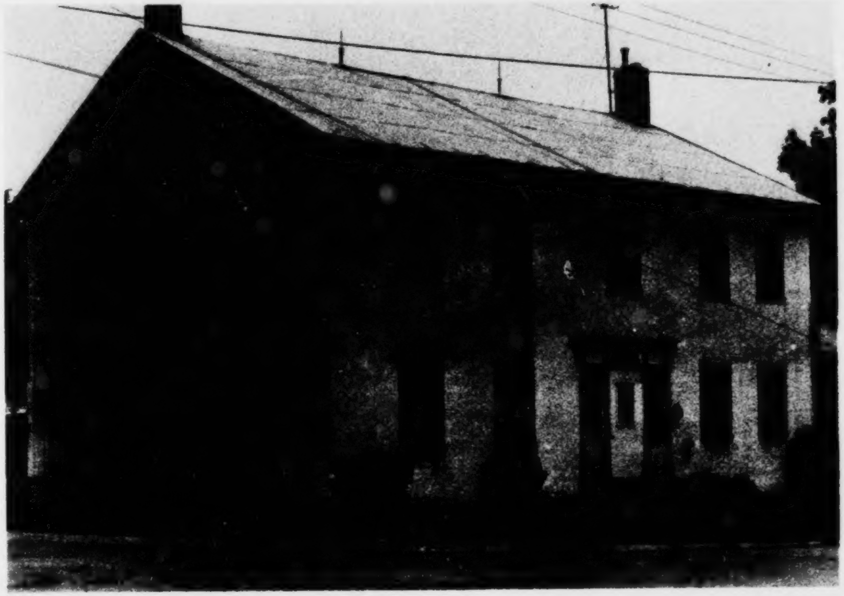
55 Board and batten finished house in Eastons Corners, Wolford township, of front-gable design trimmed with "eared' mouldings in the Classical Revival style.

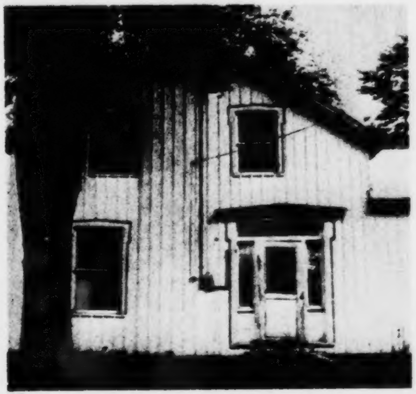
56 Classically designed mid-19th-century house in

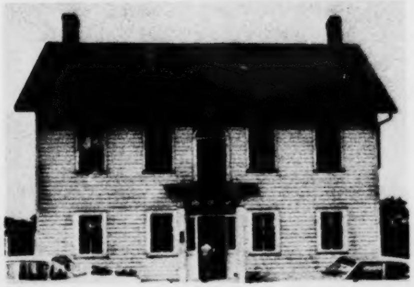
57 Newboro, North Crosby township.

58 The fanlight of this frame house in Bastard township

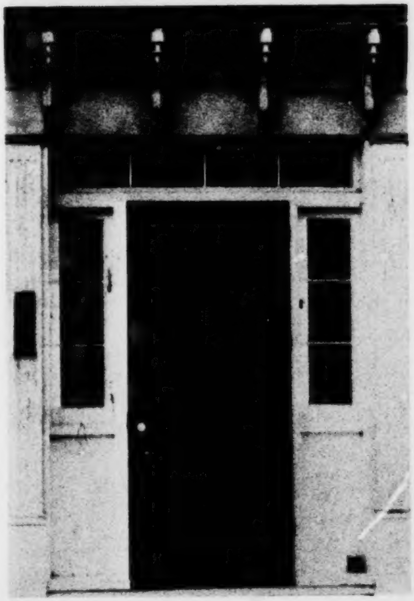
59 (Con. 3, Lot 28) is blue and red glass; the house, now refinished in aluminum siding, dates from about 1860 and was once a roadside inn.

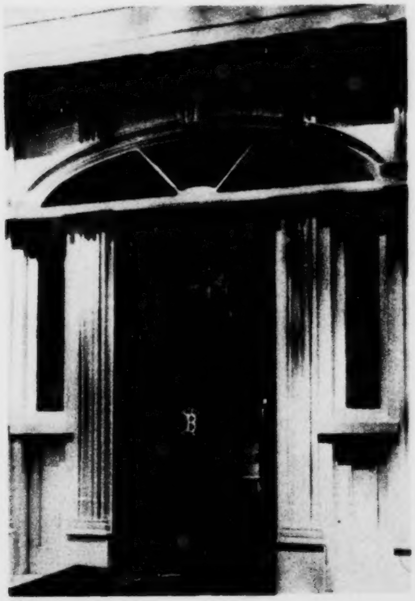

54


55


56

59


57

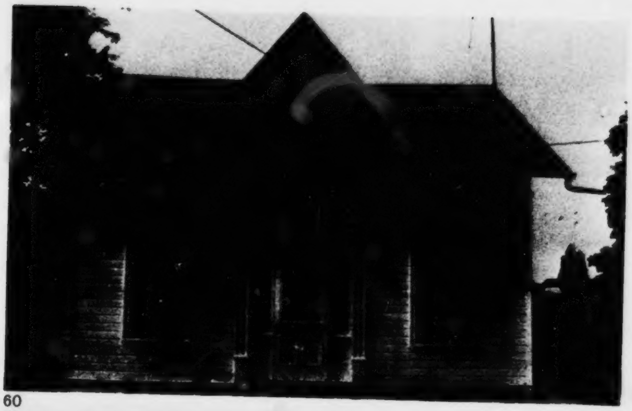

58

60 House in Newboro, North Crosby township, with clean classical detailing on windows and door.

61 House in South Crosby township (Con. 2, Lot 16) with steeply pitched gable, pointed window and decorative bargeboard of the Gothic Revival style.

62 The Watts house in Eastons Corners, Wolford township, built with small Regency windows on the second floor, was originally a store as well.

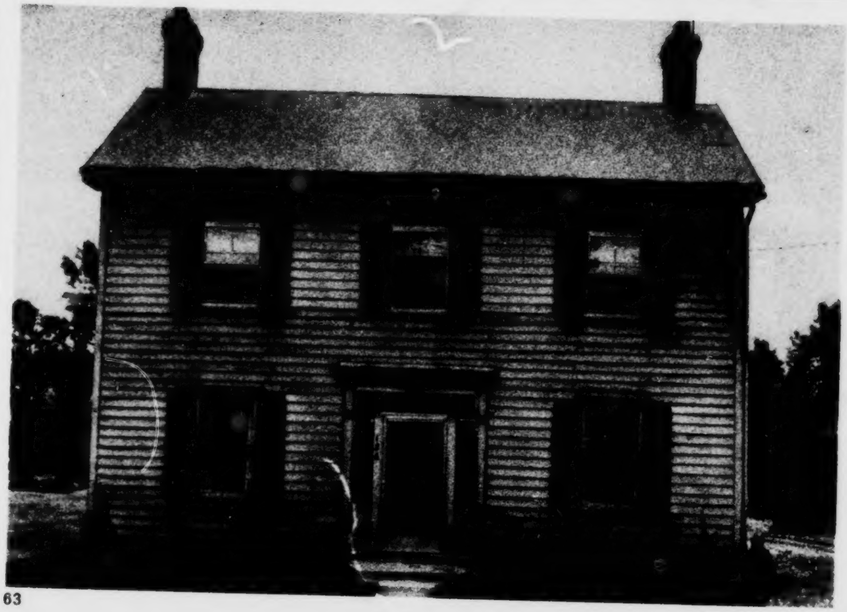
63 Regency style frame house in Kemptville, built about 1840.



60

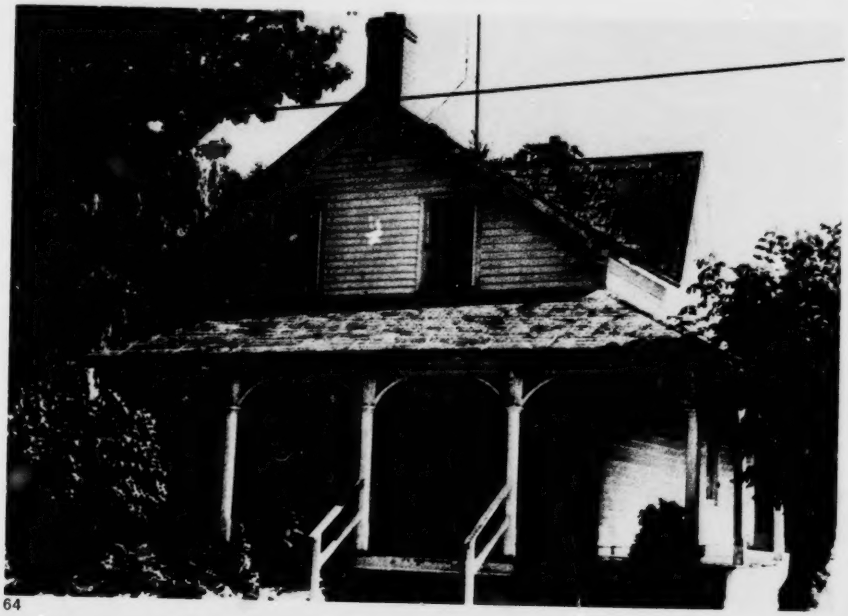
61

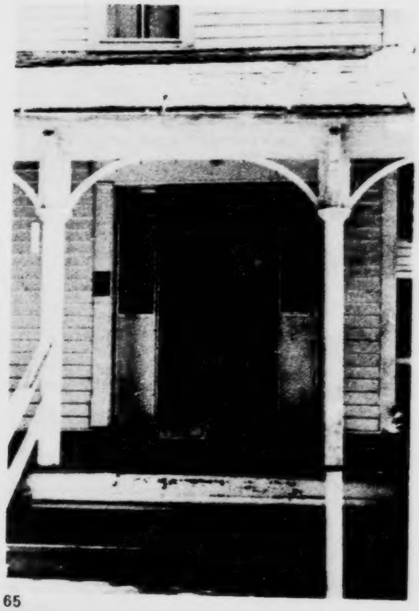
62

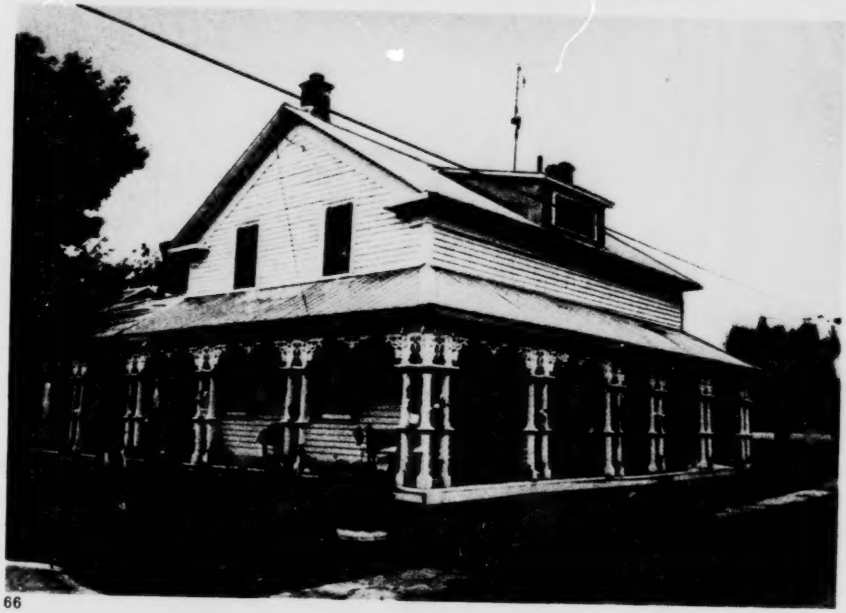


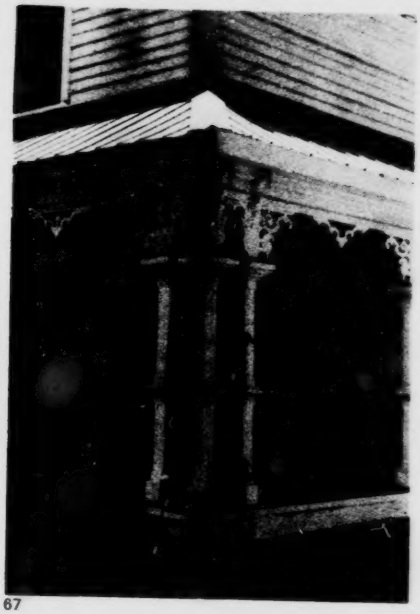
63

64 Early styled treillage on a Brock Street house in
65 Merrickville, Wolford township.
66 Verandah treillage of the decorative Gothic Revival
67 style has been well retained on this mid-19th-century house in Burritts Rapids, Oxford township.


64


65


66


67

retained the pattern of classical mouldings used on contemporary stone houses until about mid-19th century, when the picturesque aspect of the Gothic Revival began to appear in the use of decorative bargeboards. The earliest of these bargeboards were often intricate and usually very individual in design, as for example that seen on the gable of a house in South Crosby township (Fig. 61). Later in the century as mass-production of millwork became more common, this type of trim became coarser in design, and often a pattern appears repeatedly within one community, probably the design being made at the time in the local mill.

In addition to an increase in the use of decorative trim typical of the period of the Gothic Revival, some of the frame buildings show the influence of the Regency style. The Regency was a style influence in Upper Canada concurrent with that of the Classical Revival but is seldom seen on the stone buildings in the corridor. This style, developed in England, was essentially "landscape architecture," closely correlated with the romanticism prevalent in the arts in England in the early part of the 19th century. Its use dictated irregular outlines with bays and projections, large and important chimneys, tall first-floor windows, wide verandahs extending around the building, and flat stucco finishes to set off the trim and treillage of the verandah supports. In the frame buildings of the Rideau Corridor this style was manifested in the use of verandahs and large first-floor windows, the latter sometimes combined with very small second-floor windows on the front elevation. On a 1½-storey house this resulted in floor-level windows on the second floor, a very inconvenient arrangement to say the least and a result of designing from the outside in. An example of this arrangement is seen in the Watts house in Eastons Corners (Fig. 62). This Regency style combination of two sizes of front windows was naturally more successful on two-storey houses such as the house in Kemptville shown in Figure 63.

Verandahs, the other distinguishing Regency feature, were used extensively on the frame houses, particularly those of front-gable design. However, since verandahs were not an integral part of the main structure and usually the first part of it to disintegrate, those now in existence are often additions or replacements, and without extensive research it can be difficult to tell which. Few were recorded which displayed the rather geometrical treillage associated with the Classical Revival period of the type seen in a Brock Street house in Merrickville (Figs. 64, 65). The fine and fancy fretwork designs of the later Gothic style were more common, but not often as elaborate as that on the house in Burritts Rapids (Figs. 66, 67).

Obviously there are some very attractive frame houses in the Rideau Corridor. Inevitably, while they may have the same proportions, they cannot have the air of solidity possessed by their stone counterparts nor their aging charm. But the front-gabled styles and the board and batten finish blend well with the small-scale setting of the villages and towns, and many of the larger clapboard houses with their sweeping verandahs and tall gables are an attractive addition to the countryside.

Brick Houses

Although brick became one of the most popular finishes for domestic buildings in Ontario by the late 1800s, its use in the pre-1880 period in the Rideau Corridor was comparatively rare. Brick-finished buildings accounted for only 14 per cent of the total recorded, and of that group it is estimated that well over half were erected after 1850. Bricks became more readily available after mid-century and continued to grow in popularity for domestic as well as commercial buildings, and by 1880 few houses in the corridor were being erected of stone. Because of their relatively late date of construction, brick houses in the Rideau area are seen in a wider variety of styles than the stone structures. The early designs followed the same style as seen in contemporary stone or frame houses, and are generally end-gabled with a symmetrical façade, centre door, chimney at each end and a gable over the front door housing a semi-circular-headed decorative window. Brick houses built after mid-century in the corridor are more apt to be of the later gable-fronted style, the L-shaped plan, usually with a partial verandah and sometimes a bay window, or a hip-roofed design and Italianate detailing.

Construction followed that of the frame houses, and being later in date, used more sawn lumber and fewer log beams or rafters. Walls were of wood framing with brick facing, or of two and sometimes three layers of brick. As with the grout-filled frame walls of the wood houses, whether these "solid" brick walls were two or

68 Burchill house in Merrickville, Wolford township, built of alternating red and yellow brick in the solid British Renaissance style and lightened by an Adamesque fanlight door.

69 House of alternating red and yellow brick in Wolford township (Con. 2, Lot 23). While the design is the typical end-gable style the taller proportions of the building, the high front gable and Gothic Revival windows indicate its later date (1858) despite the Adamesque door.

70 Summit house on Drummond Street in Perth was built by James Boulton, Perth's first lawyer, and shows the influences of both Adamesque and Regency architectural styles.

71 McMartin house in Perth, now the property of the

72 Ontario Heritage Foundation, is a relatively rare example of the American Federal style in Upper Canada.

68

69

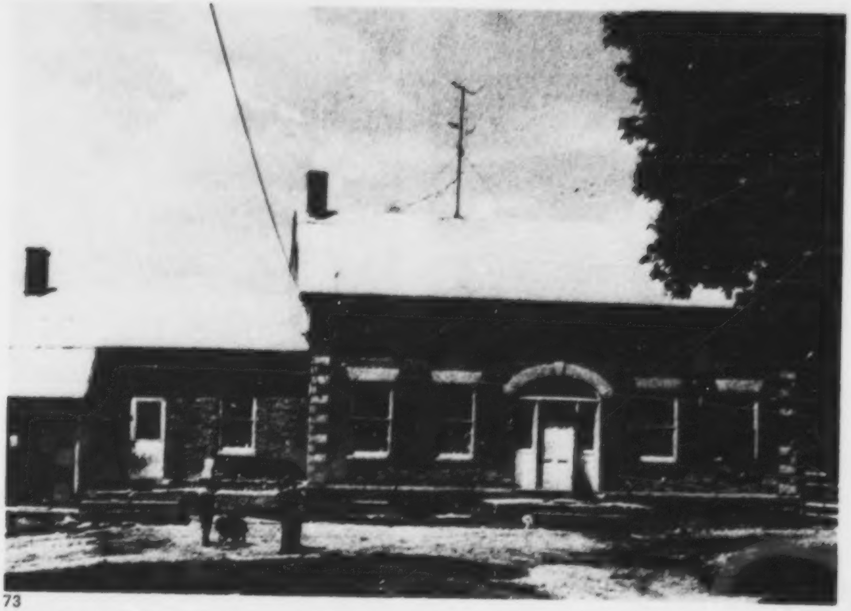
71

70

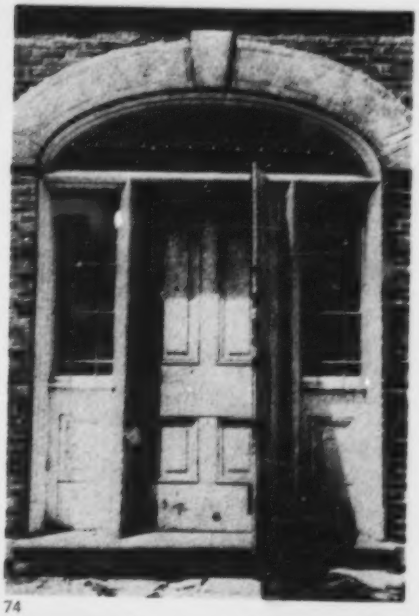
72

73 House in Wolford township (Con. C, Lot 1), built in
74 the 1860s of red brick with cut-stone trim, has identical fanlight transom doors on both front and back façades.

75 Built by Alexander McCrea in 1830 in Wolford
76 township (Con. 3, Lot 21), this brick house has a rectangular transom door of the Classical Revival style.

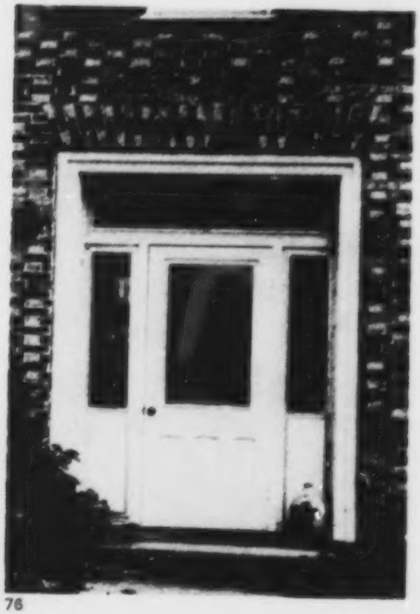


73



74

75



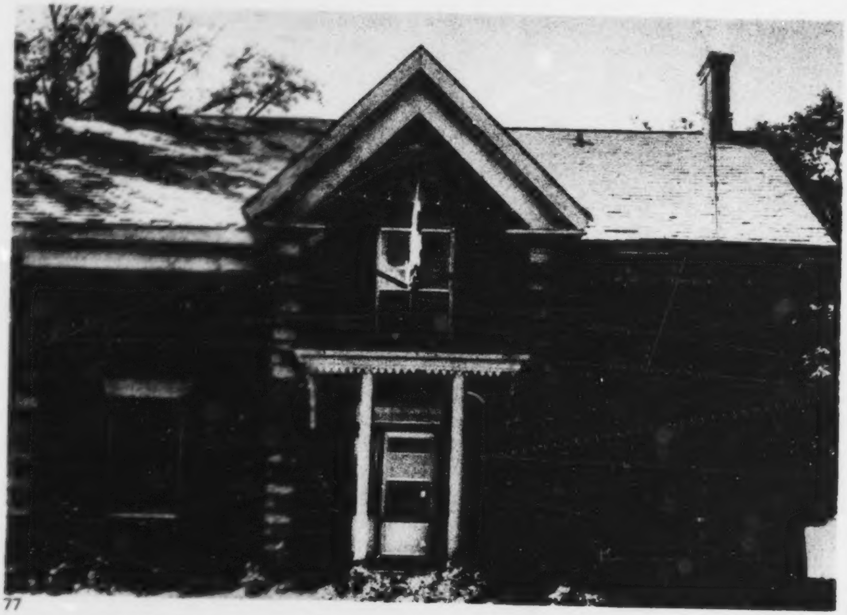
76

77 Samuel Starr Easton house in Wolford township (Con. 2, Lot 24), built in 1860 of red brick with cut-stone trim. There is an extensive rear wing showing the original arched entranceway to the carriage house, but the verandah which once extended along three sides of the building has been removed.

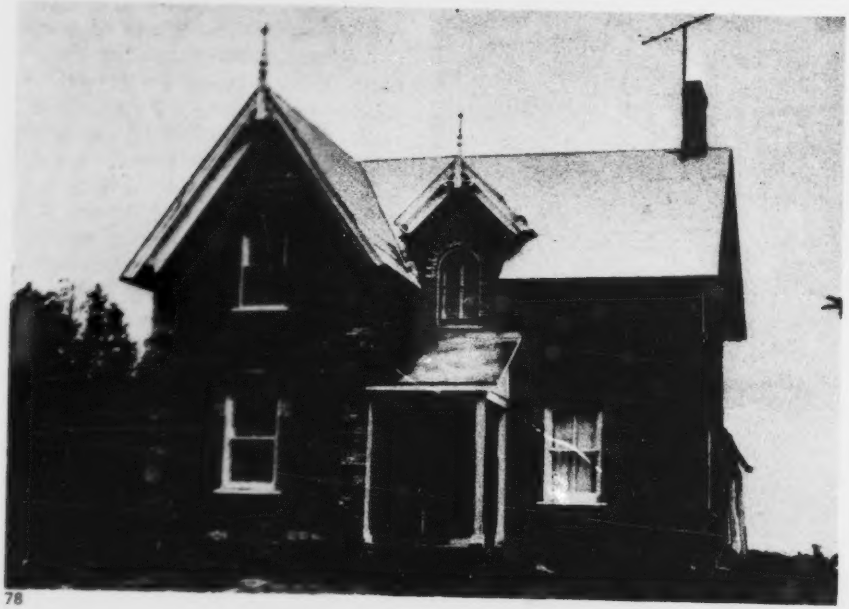
78 Contrasting yellow brick is used for the trim on this red brick house in Osgoode township (Con. 1, Lot 17), built about 1880 with segmental-headed windows typical of this period.

79 Red brick house in Oxford township (Con. 2, Lot
80 10), built about 1880 with an interesting use of yellow brick as trim.

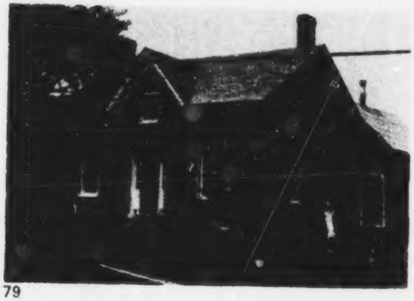
81 A decorative frieze in the brickwork as well as a Tudor arched front gable window are unusual details of this house in Marlborough township (Con. 8, Lot 12).



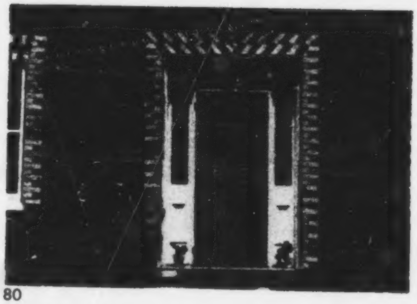
77



78



79



80

81

82 House on Van Buren Street in Kemptville with
83 interesting verandah treillage and the segmental-headed window and door openings typical of the post-1870 period.
84 Allan house on Isabella Street in Perth is an example of the late Italianate style built in yellow brick.

82

83

84

three layers thick was difficult to discern and the recorders were dependent on knowledgeable householders for this type of information. Probably most of the brick houses built in the area in the 1860s and earlier were of two layers of brick, but further structural surveying would be required to establish this detail with any degree of accuracy.

In the early days the brick used was locally made, brickyards being established at several places throughout the corridor where suitable clay could be found. Brick sizes varied, some being larger, others smaller than the size used today. The colour of the bricks depended on the type of clay available.[5] The early ones were light red, some with a pink, some with an orange cast. Yellow or buff-coloured brick was produced as well, but its use was restricted to the decorative trim on door and window openings. An interesting exception to this is seen in the Merrickville area where alternating red and yellow bricks were used in each course of the building wall. Laid in a simple bond, the effect is less busy than it sounds since the colours are mellow and the pattern consistent. It was used by John "Survey" Burchill, who surveyed the village of Merrickville, on the fine home he built there in 1851 (Fig. 68). Another interesting example is the Gothic Revival house built in 1858 in Wolford township (Fig. 69).

Detailing, as with contemporary stone houses, is concentrated on the main entrance door of the end-gabled structure. Fanlight-transomed doors were recorded, a notable example being that of the Summit House in Perth (Fig. 70), a remarkably early brick building erected in 1823 and designed with an Adamesque fanlight transom, an oval decorative window of the same style and the tall first-floor windows and important chimneys (now missing) of the Regency period. Another interesting example, also in Perth, is the McMartin house (Figs. 71, 72), a very large handsome building erected in 1839 by an ex-American who imported American bricks, American workmen and apparently American designers also, since it is an adaptation of the very popular Federal style of the United States, a style rarely seen in its entirety in this part of Ontario. Fanlight doors are found, too, on the smaller houses such as the house in Wolford township shown in Figures 73 and 74. Rectangular transoms, however, were more common done in the Classical Revival style and window openings were untrimmed and rectangular, as on the McCrea house in Wolford township (Figs. 75, 76). On the later designs this rectangular opening gave way to a segmental shape which became the one most commonly used on brick buildings from the late 1870s on.

The desire for fancy buildings which was part of the Gothic Revival is evident in the area in the extensive use of stone or contrasting coloured brick for door and window trim and often for quoins as well. This trim is usually wide and rather heavy in scale and thus is a dominating feature on the smaller houses. An example of stone trim is seen on the Samuel Starr Easton house in Wolford township (Fig. 77), and of contrasting brick on the Kelly house in Osgoode township (Fig. 78). Equally decorative but somewhat finer in scale is the brick trim on the house in Oxford township seen in Figures 79 and 80. Very decorative brickwork used as a frieze is rare in the area, the only example recorded being a house in Marlborough (Fig. 81). Gothic detailing was used extensively on verandah treillage and occasionally for bargeboard trim. As with the frame examples, this type of detailing became coarser later in the century when it was more apt to have been mass-produced in the local mill. Earlier examples, such as is seen on Van Buren Street in Kemptville (Figs. 82, 83), show the finer scaling of individual design and craftsmanship.

Since the Italianate style was becoming popular in Canada at about the same time bricks were becoming more readily available, its stylistic features are often seen on brick buildings. The Italianate was a style derived from Italian villa design and its extensive use of semi-circular-headed window and door openings caused it to be known also as the Round-Headed style. In addition to this type of opening, it is also identified by wide bracketed eaves and projecting frontispieces and towers centrally or asymmetrically located. Not a great many examples of this style were seen in the Rideau Corridor as it was customarily a "town style" and used for rather elaborate houses. An example carried out in brick and erected in the 1870s is found on Isabella Street in Perth (Fig. 84).

Generally speaking, most of the brick houses in the corridor, being built well after mid-century, tend to have the more attenuated proportions of the later architectural styles: the buildings are higher, roof pitches steeper and windows taller and narrower than the pre-1850 houses. Unfortunately, not too many gained through their detailing the charm they lost in these new proportions, and consequently as a group they are not as attractive as the stone houses that preceded them.

Since the Rideau Canal was essentially a military operation built for defence, any permanent accommodation designed to service it had also to be of a defensive nature. This included houses built for the lockmasters who were stationed along the canal to keep it operational in times of peace as well as war. As a result of this dual demand of service and defence, a type of "semi-military" canal architecture was developed, a style particularly evident in the design of the blockhouses.

The blockhouses, according to Colonel By's original proposal, were to be erected at 22 stations along the canal to be used by the lockmasters and the men doing general maintenance duty. Colonel By also intended that they "serve as secure depots in time of war for provisions, ammunition and small arms, for the militia, as large villages are forming at every station where there are locks buildings."[6] However, it was decided that this scheme was unduly elaborate and that the siting of such blockhouses would not necessarily be convenient locations for lockmasters' houses. Consequently, only four blockhouses were completed, at Merrickville, The Narrows, Newboro and Kingston Mills.

For the lockmasters' houses a money-saving compromise was reached whereby it was agreed that following the completion of the canal the lockmasters would take over the buildings erected by the contractors for their own use during the construction period, the cost being divided equally between the contractors and the government. This scheme provided houses only where originally built by the contractor for his own use and their location of course had no relation to the defence or maintenance of the canal, nor were they constructed as defensible buildings. None of the buildings so obtained appear to have survived ; it is highly probable that they were few in number and of frame construction.

Following the Rebellion of 1837 and again during the 1844-46 Oregon boundary dispute, considerable apprehension was felt over the lack of existing protection for the canal. As a result, additional lockmasters' houses and squared timber guardhouses were erected, both of a defensible type.

Only three guardhouses were apparently built – at Jones Falls, at the Whitefish Dam and at Ottawa – none of which survive. Lockmasters' houses were built at a number of stations and some 11 remain. Most have been extensively altered but largely by additions, so the original defensible construction can still be discerned. The location of some of them, commanding a view of the canal in both directions, indicates as well their planned importance in the defence system of the canal.

The style and construction of the blockhouses were quite clearly established by Colonel By and the Royal Engineers. In his letter of 15 March 1830 to General Mann, Colonel By described the blockhouses he intended to build.

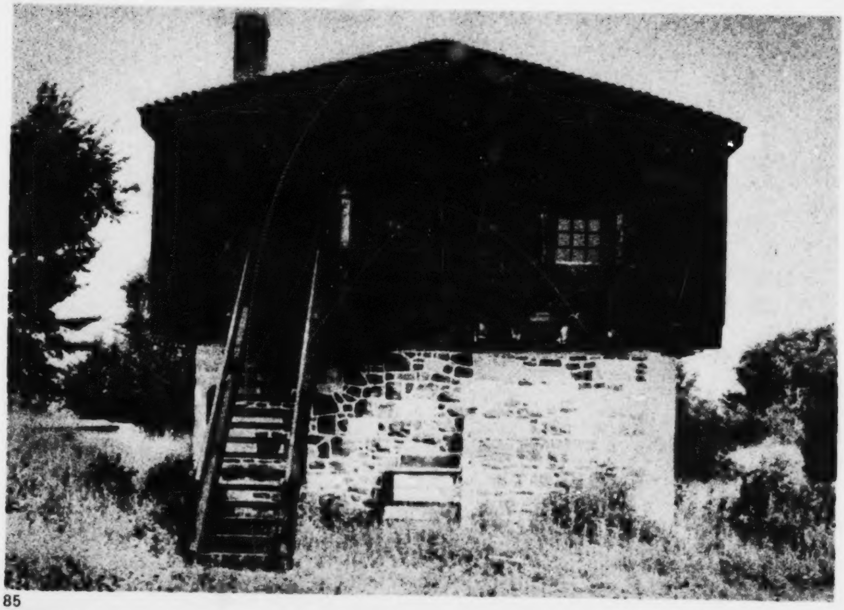
> *The lower part of these blockhouses I propose building with stone, there being a sufficient quantity remaining at each station from the rock excavation to enable that part to be built of masonry, with walls four feet thick, at the same price as timber. These walls would support strong flooring beams, with a layer of masonry, to render the lower storeys fire-proof and nearly bomb-proof, as shown by the Section. The roofs and timberwork I propose covering with tin, which will render these buildings very durable and difficult to destroy by fire, as tin remains free from rust in this climate upwards of sixty years.*[7]

The blockhouses were constructed as Colonel By had specified, the lower section having four-foot-thick walls of stone and upper walls built of squared timber, originally tin covered. Like the blockhouse at Newboro (Fig. 85), they were all approximately 24 feet by 24 feet at the base with an 18-inch overhang except for Merrickville which was more than twice as large, being 50 feet square with an 18-inch overhang (Fig. 86).

Originally the only openings on the ground floor were ventilation slits of an ingenious design, having an interior core or baffle of stone. Access to the building was by means of an exterior stairway to the upper floor level. Consequently, while they seem admirably designed for their primary purpose – defence of the canal – they were probably not very convenient buildings to live in. Nevertheless, even the smallest of them was intended to house 20 men and they did serve as lockmasters' houses as well.

All four of these blockhouses survive and all have been restored to some extent. The only one now in use

85 Blockhouse in Newboro, North Crosby township, built about 1834.
86 Blockhouse in Merrickville built in 1832, now restored and in use as a local museum.



85

86

(1972) is the Merrickville structure which houses a local museum.

The design of the lockmasters' houses was apparently based on the standards set down in 1845 by the Royal Engineers in a circular concerning defensible buildings wherein it was stated that

> *The requisites for a defensible building are:*
>
> *1 That the approach be under fire from it.*
>
> *2 That every part of it be flanked.*
>
> *3 That the gates, doors and all windows within a moderate height from the ground be strong enough not to be forced open without very powerful means.*
>
> *4 That there be no openings by which the defenders will be exposed to shot, except the small loop-holes constructed for their own fire.*
>
> *5 That these loop-holes be not less than 7 feet from the external ground.*[8]

The directive further states that the flanking requirements could be satisfied in the case of small buildings by the provision of a projecting porch, to be enclosed on one-storey buildings but with no entry through it. The buildings which survive show a compromise with these requirements. Loopholes were provided but were not always seven feet from the ground and porches served as entranceways as well.

The lockmasters' houses were of uniform design, roughly square in plan and one storey high with a hip roof. Like the blockhouses they were built of stone and covered with tin and some, though not all, were provided with

87 The lockmaster's house at Davis Lock retains its original one-storey form; the musket loops, now filled in, can be clearly seen.

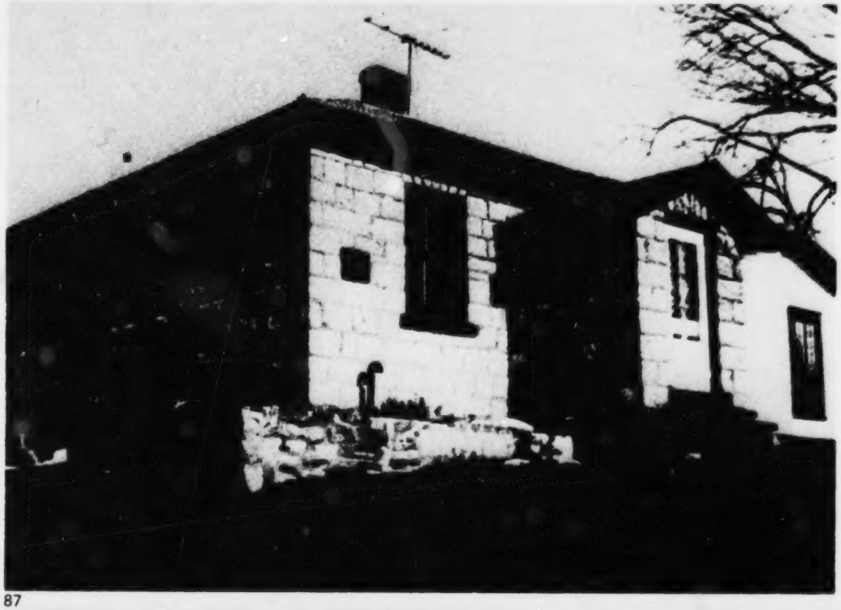
88 Lockmaster's house at Chaffeys Locks built in the 1840s has acquired a second storey but retained the original projecting porch.

musket loops. Presumably the thickness of the walls was considered to be an adequate provision for defence in those buildings where loop-holes were not provided. One of the few lockmasters' houses to survive in its original form can be seen at Davis Lock (Fig. 87).

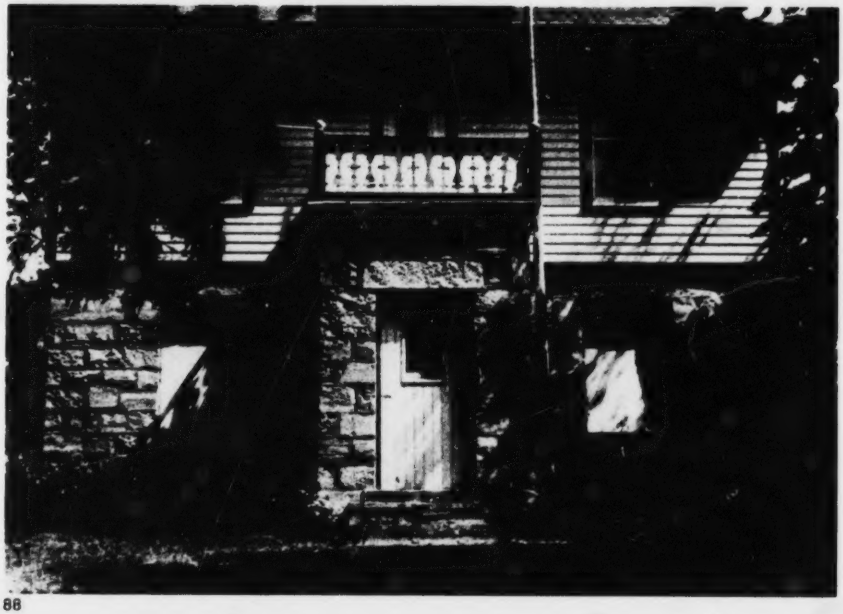
A number of the other surviving lockmasters' houses have had second storeys added and all have had the loop-holes blocked in with stone or wood. Nevertheless, like the house at Chaffeys Locks (Fig. 88), despite additions and blocking of musket loops, they still show their original form, including the projecting porch. The houses all serve as residences for lock staff, offices or summer cottages.

In addition to the blockhouses and lockmasters' houses, service buildings were erected at various stations along the canal. The only surviving one recorded is the old forge at Jones Falls. This structure was built of stone and the brick forge is still intact (Figs. 89, 90).

The semi-military canal architecture represented by the blockhouses, lockmasters' houses and service buildings is unusual and very distinctive in style. The original design of the lockmasters' houses produced simple but attractive small houses, and the blockhouses were interesting examples of the "Form Follows Function" thesis of the School of the Bauhaus that was so popular 100 years later. Functionally if not always aesthetically attractive, these buildings represent an integral and interesting part of the architecture of the Rideau Canal.

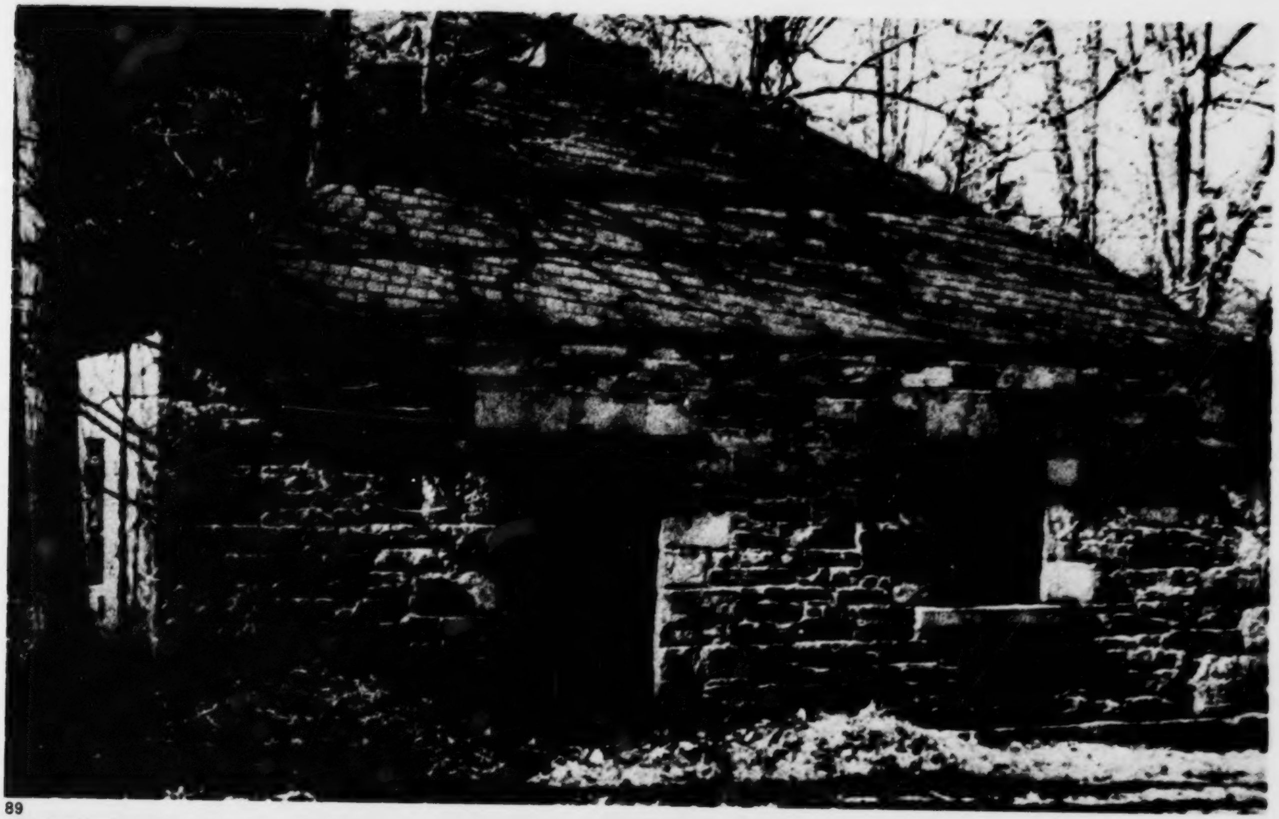


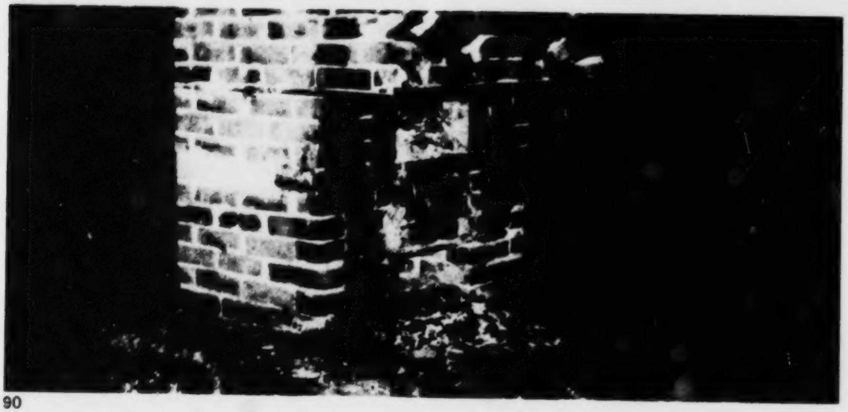
87



88

89 Forge at Jones Falls, built about 1843. The brick
90 forge is still intact.


89


90

At the time of the settling of the Rideau Corridor there were five major religious denominations in Upper Canada. The Church of England and the Roman Catholic churches were, of course, well established when the Province of Upper Canada was founded. It was assumed at that time that the former religion would become the established church of Upper Canada, reflecting the close association of church and state that existed in England. This assumption was evident in the granting of the clergy reserves, which set aside one-seventh of the land as an endowment to the "Protestant" church. The assumption proved erroneous with the coming of the United Empire Loyalists, for while they brought with them a loyalty to the crown, this loyalty did not necessarily encompass, as was expected, a loyalty to the Church of England. Many of them were Methodists and, because of the strength of their religious beliefs, their tenacity and zeal, they were able to establish the first Methodist circuit in Upper Canada by 1790.

A second form of Methodism arrived in Canada with the coming of the Wesleyan Methodist adherents as part of the post-1812 emigration from Great Britain. Dissenters from both this form of Methodism and the Episcopalian Methodism of the Loyalists formed still another Methodist group, the Canadian Wesleyan Methodists, and not until 1884 were all three united as the Methodist Episcopalian Church of Canada.

The Presbyterians, who became established in the Rideau area in the early days of settlement (a Presbyterian church was established in Merrickville in 1821), also suffered from dissension among themselves. Reflecting various divisions within the Church of Scotland and its American counterpart, these groups finally came together in 1875 to form the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

The Baptists were considerably fewer in number than the other religious groups, but at least one congregation was established in the Rideau area in the 1790s. They too suffered internal disagreements which were not finally resolved until 1851.

These several groups and their doctrinal differences led to the erection of an unusually large number of churches in some areas, considering the size of the population. Churches for all denominations were built in the Rideau Corridor with, as might be expected, the Anglican and Methodist predominating. These pre-1880 churches were largely simple one-storey structures, although there were also some very handsome (though not necessarily large) structures with tall spires and intricate interior detailing.

Most of the churches recorded were built of stone and equally divided between rural and urban sites. A few of the rural and village churches, particularly the earlier ones, were of frame construction, brick being used primarily in the villages and towns. Stone construction seems to have been dominant until brick came into popular use in the 1870s.

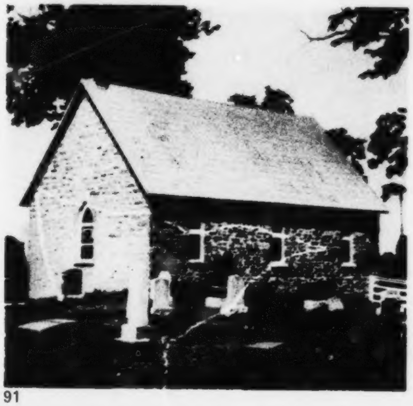
Stylistically the churches belong to the Gothic Revival and with only one or two exceptions all display the pointed window, the primary distinguishing feature of this style. So established did this feature become in the Rideau area (and elsewhere in Canada) that as Alan Gowans has said, "People...still have no trouble recognizing a Gothic window as a sign of church architecture, no less distinctive than a cross."[9]

The Gothic Revival period started in England in the mid-18th century and was, in part, a reaction to the sometimes severe style of the Classical Revival which preceded it, as well as an expression of the desire for more decorative buildings. It was due also to a return to fashion of the arts of the Middle Ages, receiving great impetus from the writings of art lovers, architects and authors. By the turn of the century, mediaevalism was very popular. One of the most influential of these mediaeval enthusiasts was A. W. N. Pugin (1812-52), an architect and writer who "not only admired the aesthetic and religious values of the Middle Ages but saw in their structural principles and logical ornament the true essence of architecture."[10] This equating of Christianity and architecture was received with great enthusiasm in England. Under the aegis of the Ecclesiological Society, founded in England in 1839 and devoted to the perfection of Gothic symbolism in Anglican church building, the Gothic style of architecture became the accepted style for churches and when, in 1832 its advocates defeated the Classical Revivalists in the "battle of styles" that raged over the rebuilding of the Parliament Buildings in Britain, Gothic

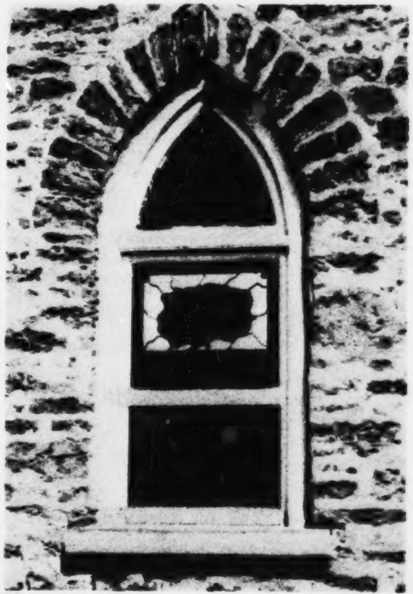
91 St. Augustine's Anglican Church in Prospect, Beck-
92 with township (Con. 3, Lot 26), built in 1854, is typical in size and style of the early rural churches in the Rideau Corridor.

93 Wesleyan Methodist Church in Salem (Con. 12,
94 Lot 21), Bedford township, erected in 1865, notable for the size and design of its windows.

95 St. John's Anglican Church in Storrington township
96 (Con. 7, Lot 6), built in 1863 with stone mullioned windows and decorative bargeboard trim.

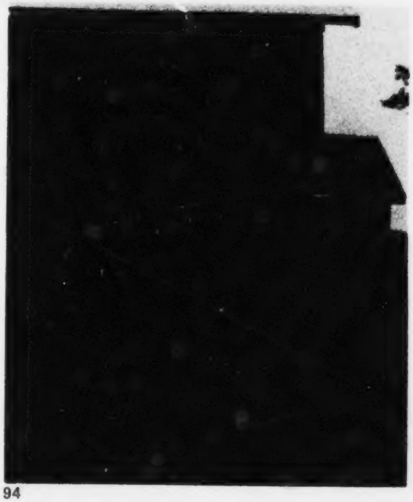


91

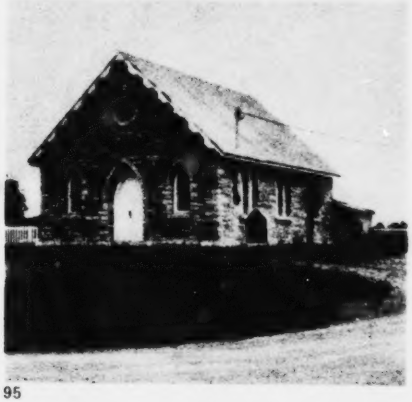


92

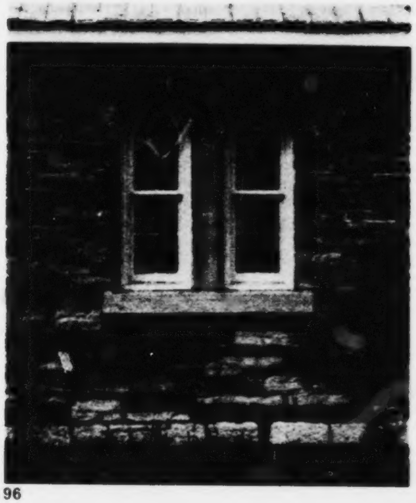
93



94



95



96

97 United Church in Battersea, Storrington township. The body of the church was built in 1858 and the tower added in 1921.

98 Presbyterian Church, North Gower township (Con. 1, Lot 25), a trim design built in 1876.

99 St. James Anglican Church in Manotick, North Gower township, with "Carpenter's Gothic" windows and a castellated tower, was erected in 1876.

100 Limestone church in Sunbury, Storrington township, built in 1852, has a buttressed Norman tower.

97

98

99

100

101 Christ Church, Burritts Rapids, Oxford township, erected in 1831 with wooden quoins on the crenellated tower and a decorative circular window in the gable, is one of the earliest churches in the Rideau Corridor.

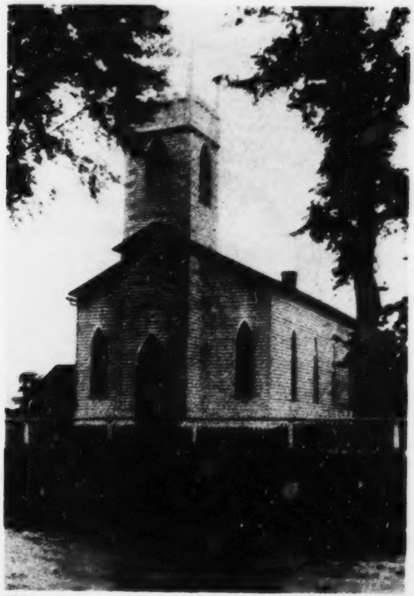
102 Wolford Chapel United Church in Wolford township (Con. A, Lot 26), constructed in 1822 and renovated in 1860 and 1967.

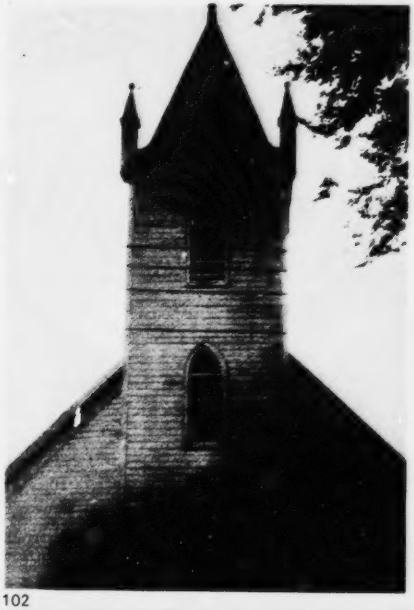
103 St. Edward's Roman Catholic Church in Westport, North Crosby township, a buttressed Gothic Revival design, was built in 1860 and has an elaborate vaulted interior (*see* Fig. 117).

104 St. Philips Catholic Church in Richmond, Goulbourn township, dates from 1858 and is a replacement of the original small wooden church built in 1825.

105 Seeleys Bay United Church, rear of Leeds and Lansdowne, a handsome frame church built in 1877 and detailed in the late Gothic Revival style.

106 Knox Presbyterian Church, Merrickville, Wolford township, erected in 1861.

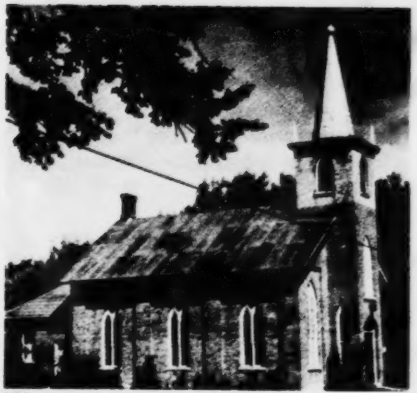

101


102

103

104

105


106

Revival became the national style as well. Its use in Upper Canada thus contained an air of patriotism in addition to its religious connotations.

While, as Pevsner says, "no other country took so wholeheartedly to the Gothic Revival in all its tendencies and shades as England,"[11] the style did become popular in America as well, though to a somewhat lesser extent. Accepted more for its picturesqueness than for moral or patriotic symbolism it was popularized, particularly for domestic buildings, by the writings of A. J. Downing whose book, *The Architecture of Country Houses*, published first in 1850, was in its ninth printing in 1866. While the Gothic Revival style did not become popular for domestic architecture until mid-19th century in either the United States or Canada, its use for church architecture was firmly established in both Great Britain and the United States in the early 1800s. This dual influence was inevitably reflected in Canada and consequently almost all the churches, regardless of denomination – those of the Rideau Corridor included – were constructed with some semblance of the Gothic Revival style.

In plan or form the churches in the Rideau Corridor, regardless of denomination or material of construction, fall roughly in two groups: those with towers and those without. Most of the small rural churches are without towers and in many instances are distinguishable from schoolhouses only by their pointed Gothic windows. They are small, pleasantly proportioned buildings in stone or frame, rectangular in shape with a medium to low pitched roof, a chimney at one gable end, usually a small and simple entrance porch at the other, and an invariable symmetrical distribution of three window openings on each long side. The only decorative feature of these buildings lies in the pointed Gothic design of the door and window openings and the design of the sash themselves. The latter vary in size and design, sometimes having a single small-paned sash, as in St. Augustine's Church at Prospect (Figs. 91, 92), or a double sash separated by a wood mullion, as in the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Salem (Figs. 93, 94). A more decorative window, seen on St. John's Anglican Church in Storrington township (Figs. 95, 96) has the paired sash separated by a stone mullion and is one of the few recorded in the area having additional decorative features such as the circular design in the gable and patterned bargeboard trim.

The more elaborate churches – those with towers – still retain the rectangular, gable-roofed basic form of the smaller buildings and the omnipresent Gothic windows but have a tower integrated into the design. These towers are generally square in plan and located on the centre front of the church. Some of the small churches, such as the United Church at Battersea built in 1858 have had the tower added at a later date so it projects fully from the front elevation of the original structure (Fig. 97).

A few of these central towers, such as the one on the Standard Presbyterian Church in North Gower township (Fig. 98), terminate without a spire in the manner of Norman or mediaeval Anglican churches. On some of these towers castellated parapets are seen, as on St. James Church in Manotick (Fig. 99) and the church in Sunbury (Fig. 100); or there may be a combination of parapet and spires as at Burritts Rapids (Fig. 101).

The spires, some of which were later additions, vary considerably in size and design from the rather squat style rising without transition from the square tower as is seen on the Wolford Chapel United Church (Fig. 102), to the rather fussy spire of St. Edward's Church in Westport (Fig. 103) which soars to some 150 feet, quite losing sight of the main roof below. This spire, whose actual height is visually increased by the repetition of similar details in decreasing size, is a late replacement of the original whose simple style and lower height were in rather better proportion with the balance of the design.[12] Well proportioned and in the Gothic tradition is the spire of the Roman Catholic Church erected in 1858 in Richmond (Fig. 104). Another, the slender spire of the United Church in Seeleys Bay (Fig. 105), rises with pleasant transition from the usual square tower which, in this building, terminates in low-pitched decorated gables rather than the flat top found on so many of the Rideau area churches. Finials and imitation quoins are additional Gothic details of the Seeleys Bay church, which was built in 1877 and whose general design suggests the slender proportions and finely scaled details of the Perpendicular or late Gothic style.

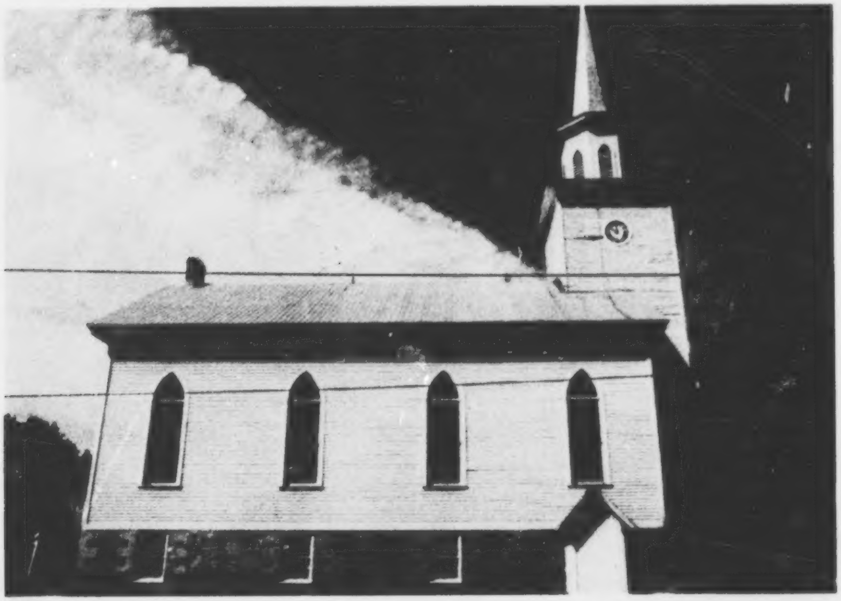
Spires that rise without transition from the towers often give the church

107 United Church in North Gower, North Gower township, built in 1870.

108 First Baptist Church, Smith's Falls, built in 1872, in the style of the Romanesque Revival.

109 St. John's Catholic Church in Perth erected in 1848 was an unusually elaborate church for its time.

110 St. John the Evangelist Anglican Church, Oxford Mills, Oxford township, a mediaeval English design built in 1869 (*see* Fig. 115 for an interior view).



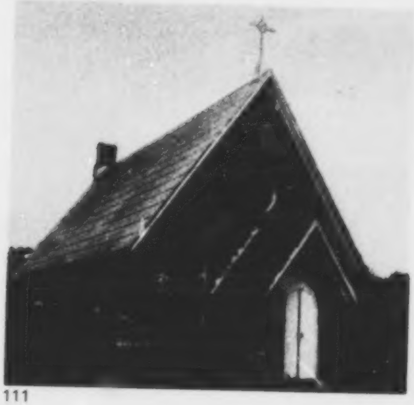
107

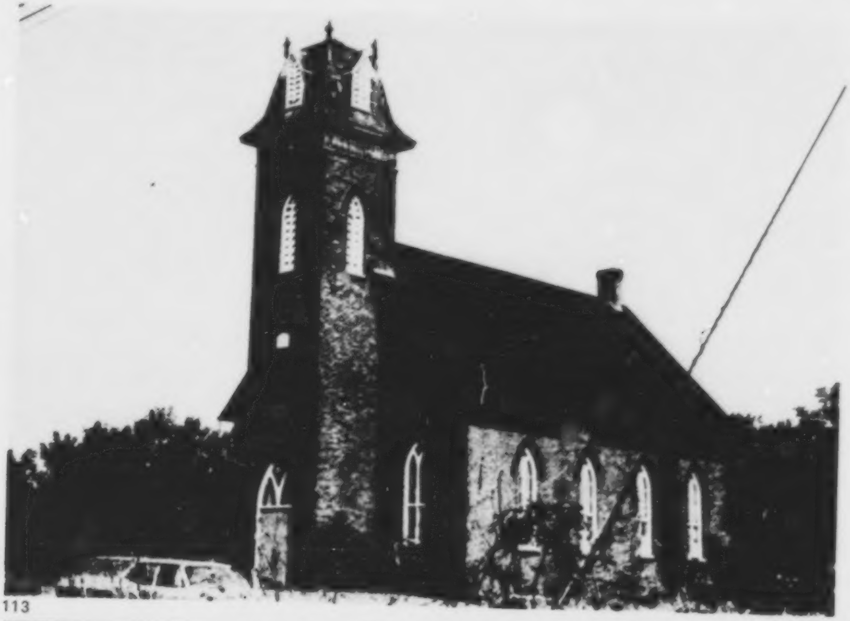
108

109

110

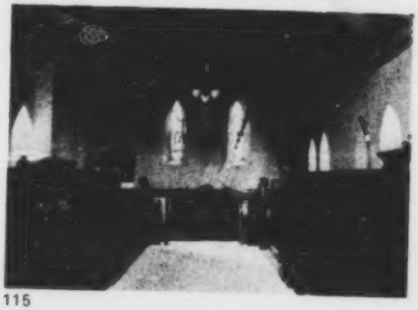
111 St. Augustine's Anglican Church at Acton Corners,
112 Oxford township (Con. 3, Lot 15), built in 1879 and carefully detailed in an early Gothic Revival style.
113 Methodist Church in Forfar, Bastard township (Con. 3, Lot 27), a red brick building constructed in 1879, its tower terminating in the Mansard roof of the Second Empire style popular in Canada in the 1870s.
114 Methodist Church in Eastons Corners, Wolford township. Built of yellow brick, it combines Gothic Revival windows and a Second Empire Mansard roof on the tower.
115 The scissors truss ceiling of St. John the Evangelist Church in Oxford Mills, Oxford township (*see also* Fig. 110).
116 Hammer beam ceiling in the Holy Trinity Church in North Gower, North Gower township, a centre-towered stone church erected in 1879.
117 Tall vaulted ceiling of St. Edward's Catholic Church in Westport (*see also* Fig. 103).

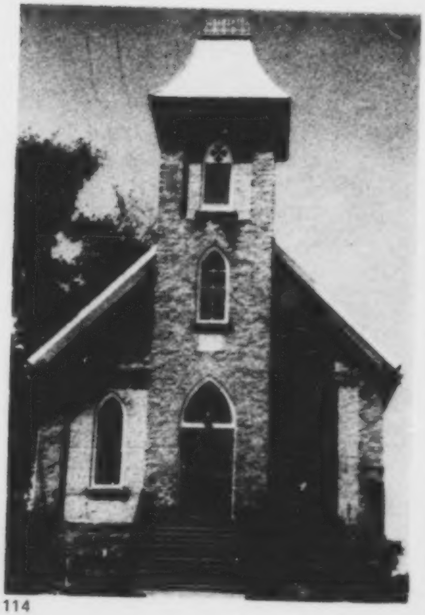

111

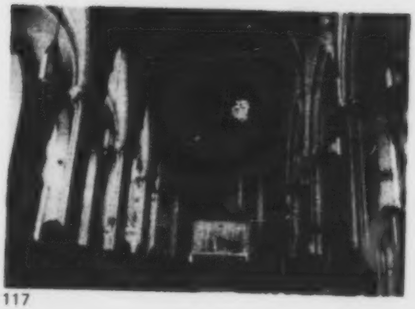

113

112

116


115


114


117

a curious mediaeval look. Such a design can be seen on the Knox Presbyterian Church in Merrickville (Fig. 106). Here the tower is in sharp contrast with the tall, slender late Gothic windows. On the Holy Trinity Church in North Gower (Fig. 107) the spire sits, apparently unanchored, on a Norman tower whose painted clocks remain unmoved by time.

A departure from the single, centre-tower design is seen in the off-centre towers of the Baptist Church in Smith's Falls (Fig. 108) and St. James Anglican Church in Perth, both dating from the 1870s. The latter is again in the Gothic tradition while the Baptist Church is in the style of the Romanesque Revival. (The Romanesque Revival was part of the Italianate or Round-Headed style which became popular for all types of architecture in Canada in the latter half of the 19th century, but this church is the only example of it recorded in the survey.)

Another departure from the central single tower is found in Perth in St. John's Church (Fig. 109), built in 1848 and one of the most elaborate of all the churches in the Rideau Corridor. The central tower of this buttressed and pinnacled limestone structure is flanked on either side by smaller towers of similar design. While unusually elaborate in form, the detailing is severe, giving the whole a somewhat stylized effect.

Built in a different idiom are St. John the Evangelist Church in Oxford Mills (Fig. 110) and St. Augustine's in Oxford township (Figs. 111, 112). Both are again Gothic in detail with tall pointed windows and even a simple rose window on St. Augustine's; but the high, steeply pitched roofs on these buildings belong to the Anglo-Saxon period of English mediaeval architecture rather than the period represented by their Gothic details. The church at Oxford Mills, for example, with its gable end terminating in a bell tower is very reminiscent of the Boars Hants Church in England (ca. 1000). It is curious that this early mediaeval style should appear in the Rideau at so late a date, all three examples having been built between 1869 and 1879 after the Gothic Revival style was well established.

A style feature which was more in keeping with the contemporary developments of the post-1860 period is seen on two very similar churches, both built in the late 1870s. These are both Methodist buildings, one at Forfar (Fig. 113) and one at Eastons Corners (Fig. 114). While the centre front towers on both are traditional, their termination in a form of Mansard roof marks them as belonging to the Second Empire style. (First popularized in Canada in the 1870s and used extensively thereafter on all types of buildings, this style is distinguished by the use of the Mansard roof.)

As might be expected the interiors of the small rural churches were usually quite simple and unadorned; however, elaborate ceiling designs were found in some, notably St. John's in Oxford Mills (Fig. 115) and Holy Trinity Church in North Gower (Fig. 116), where examples can be seen of exposed wood ceiling structures reminiscent of the elaborate wood ceilings of the mediaeval parish churches of England. Most outstanding of the Gothic interior designs in St. Edward's Church in Westport (Fig. 117), whose slender, beautiful vaulting is the more remarkable inasmuch as it was erected in 1852.

Regardless of design inside or out, of fabric or location, all of these early churches of the Rideau Corridor bear witness to the devotion and determination of the pioneers. Faced, as most were, with an almost daily struggle for survival they nonetheless overlooked doctrinal differences and found the time and devoted the energy to erecting tangible and lasting symbols of their faith.

The Common School Act passed in 1816 gave the authority and limited financial assistance to any community to organize a school, provided 20 pupils were available to attend it. The financial assistance – a maximum of £25 per school – was intended to pay part of the teacher's salary and assist in furnishing school texts. Members of the community were expected to provide and maintain the school building and, in addition, parents of the students were obliged to pay attendance fees and to board the teacher for a part of each term. It is not surprising, then, that the school buildings were simple in the extreme.

The earliest schools were of log construction, heated by fireplaces and minimally furnished. Some, we are told,[13] had only backless benches for the younger pupils, while the older students used desks consisting of boards extending along three sides of the room supported by pieces of wood set into the chinks of the log walls. A contemporary sketch on education in Upper Canada in the early part of the 19th century noted that

One might suppose from the shattered condition and ill accommodation of many of the schoolhouses that they were erected as pounds to confine unruly boys and punish them by way of freezing them or smoking them, so that the master can do little more than regulate the ceremonies of the hearth.[14]

Fortunately, however, such a bleak description is hardly applicable to the surviving examples of the early schoolhouses of the Rideau Corridor. The majority of those recorded were erected just before or after the passing of the School Act of 1846, which was designed to organize the local administration of the schools and to provide increased assistance in establishing them. Consequently, though minimal in size, they were more apt to have been built of frame or stone, heated by stoves and adequately furnished.

The basic style seemed to be a simple, one-storey, one-room structure with its design varying only in the number of windows, the type of construction and the style of the bell tower sometimes surmounting the ridge of the roof (Figs. 118-120). All had a small entrance porch on one gable end and all had a chimney, usually of brick, at the other. Two, three and occasionally four double-hung windows were symmetrically located on each of the long walls. The Heckston schoolhouse (Fig. 121), built about 1850, is an example of this basic design although its original finish is now concealed by a composition cladding. Original glass panes were small and the most common window consisted of two sash, each three panes wide by two panes high. An interesting exception to this, however, can be seen in the South Gower township schoolhouse (Figs. 122, 123) where the finely mullioned window consists of 20 small panes divided (12 and 8) between two sash.

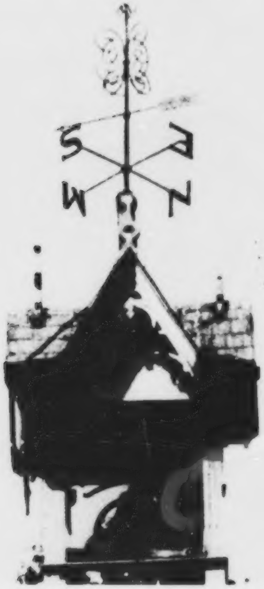
One-room schoolhouses of the same basic design were erected in all finishes–log, frame, stone and brick. Only two log schoolhouses recognizable as such were recorded, both in Montague township (Fig. 124). It is

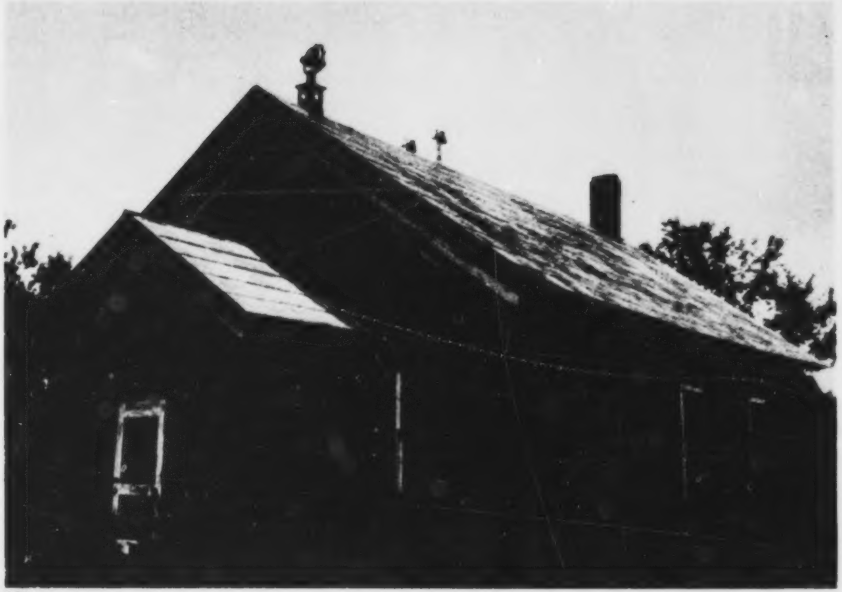
118 School bells. Bell tower of Maple Wood School in Oxford Mills, Oxford township (*see* Fig. 129).
119 School bells. Bell tower of Jasper School, Wolford township (*see* Fig. 130).

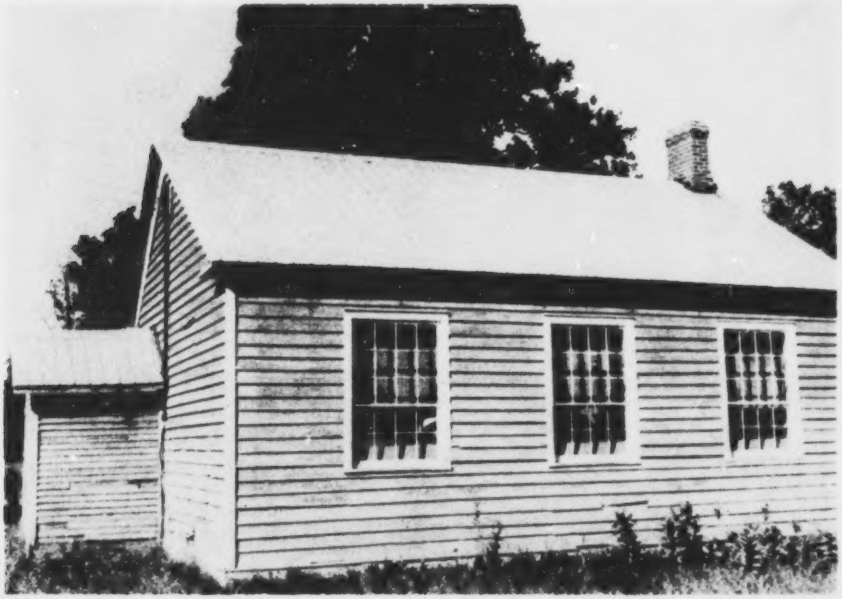
118

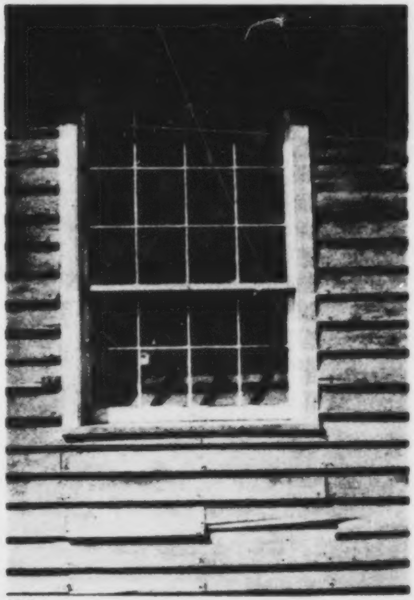
119

20 School bells. Bell tower of Eastons Corners School in Wolford township, erected in 1875.
21 Schoolhouse in Heckston, South Gower township, a one-room school of typical design, still retaining the original small-pane window sash.
22 Schoolhouse in South Gower township (Con. 4,
23 Lot 6) with pleasantly large multi-paned windows.


120


121


122


123

124 Log schoolhouse in Montague township (Con. 1, Lot 1).

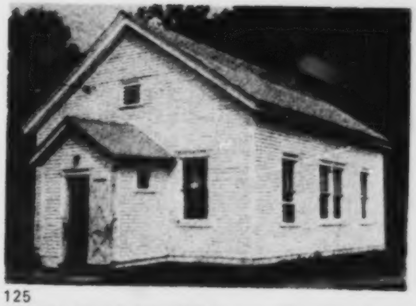
125 River Road school, Bathurst township (Con. 1, Lot 23), an attractively situated country school with Classical Revival detailing. (*Canadian School Studios.*)

126 Board and batten schoolhouse in Bathurst township (Con. 3, Lot 11).

127 This early stone schoolhouse is located in Freeland, Bastard township (Con. 1, Lot 24).

128 Wolford Chapel School in Wolford township (Con. A, Lot 26) served its original purpose for 102 years and is now a private residence.

124



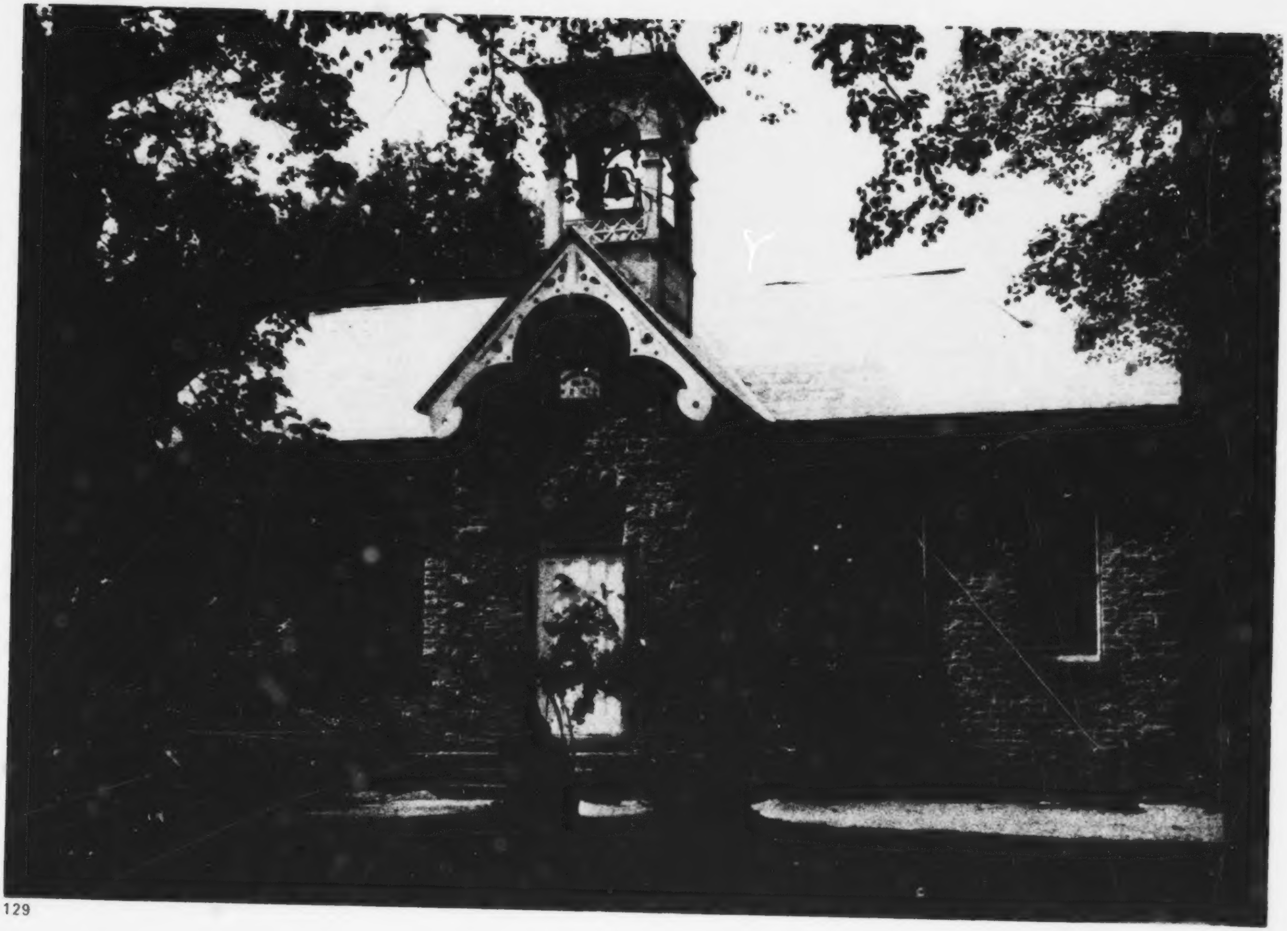
125

126

127

128

129 Maple Wood School in Oxford Mills, Oxford township. The decorative bell tower, bargeboard and beautiful setting in a grove of trees enhance the charm of this two-room schoolhouse constructed of stone obtained from a nearby farm. (*Canadian School Studios.*)



129

130 Two-room brick schoolhouse in Jasper, Wolford township, is typical of rural schools erected in the Rideau Corridor in the 1870s.
131 Secondary school in Smith's Falls, now a Masonic temple.
132 Public school on Beckwith Street, Smith's Falls.

possible others still exist, their log walls now concealed by composition siding or clapboard. The frame schools are, with few exceptions, finished in clapboard. The River Road School in Bathurst township, built in the 1870s (Fig. 125), is an interesting example of a clapboarded schoolhouse displaying the narrow width clapboard typical of the earlier buildings. The Classical Revival decoration on the window heads of this building is also worth noting. On occasion board and batten was used instead of clapboard, as for example on a school in Bathurst township (Fig. 126). The stone schoolhouses are of limestone or sandstone, usually in coursed rubble and sometimes with cut-stone quoins. They are of sturdy proportions with a pleasantly low-pitched roof. A typical example is the schoolhouse at Freeland (Fig. 127). Few examples of one-room brick schools were recorded, the most interesting of which is the Wolford Chapel School (1862) built with a pattern of alternating red and yellow brick, a design peculiar to this particular area (Fig. 128).

As the population of the corridor grew and with it the demand for larger and better schools, the two-room school appeared. Built during the 1870s in the Rideau Corridor, these schools are generally of brick, and are one storey high. They are rectangular in shape with symmetrically placed windows and the ubiquitous entrance porch located centrally on the long side rather than on the gable end of the building, reflecting the interior two-room plan.

Constructed usually in red brick with contrasting yellow brick trim and quoins and topped with a decorative bell tower of Gothic design, these small buildings are attractive and considerably more inviting in appearance than their starkly simple one-room predecessors. This same design was carried out in stone but no frame examples were recorded. The stone schoolhouse at Oxford Mills built in 1875 (Fig. 129) is one of the most attractive of the two-room schools in the area, and a very handsome example of this same design carried out in brick is the schoolhouse in Jasper built the same year (Fig. 130).

Larger towns of course required larger schools and were also the sites of the early secondary school buildings. Most of the early primary schools in the urban centres have been burned or replaced, and as a result pre-1880 school buildings in these centres usually include only the larger or later public or secondary schools. Two of these are found in Smith's Falls, one of which is of brick (Fig. 131) and the other of stone (Fig. 132). The former, a two-storey hip-roofed building erected in the 1870s, is built of red brick with yellow brick trim used in a fashion similar to that of the two-room schools of this same period. With simple, symmetrically placed windows and a projecting frontispiece, It is typical of the form that was traditional for two-storey

130

131

132

schools all across Canada for 75 years. The stone school in Smith's Falls erected in 1871 has an elaborate, dentiled cornice in the style of the Classical Revival of the 1840s. This decorative feature is combined with the segmental-headed windows usually associated with the later Second Empire style which became very popular in Canada from the 1870s on.

Many of these schoolhouses in the Rideau Corridor are still in use, but few are serving their original purpose. Some are used as halls or local museums and many of the one-room schoolhouses have been converted into comfortable homes. Despite additions and alterations, however, their basic shape shines through, still recognizable as a seat of learning and for many a nostalgic reminder of the past.

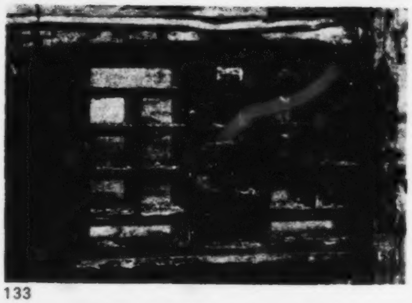
The early communities of the Rideau Corridor were, of necessity, almost entirely self-contained both socially and commercially. The directories of any of these mid-19th century settlements would undoubtedly include at least one blacksmith, a harness-maker, shoemaker, innkeeper, storekeeper and, depending on the location, a miller. Many of these trades so essential at the time are no longer practised, and the buildings which housed them have long since disappeared; nevertheless, enough examples survive throughout the corridor to provide very tangible evidence of the commercial and social life that existed in both urban and rural areas.

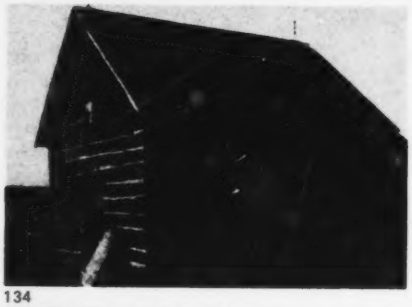
In the early days some of these trades were carried on in parts of a residence or in simple and sometimes crudely built log structures. A second look at some log buildings, now abandoned or serving as farm outbuildings, reveals their original use as a blacksmith shop, post-office, tinshop or tannery. For example, the small log shed erected in 1852 on the Tubman farm in Munster (Figs. 133, 134) was once the first post-office and store of that village. It was carefully moved to its present site and the original "pigeon holes" for the mail are still on the wall. The Anderson garage in Ashton with its 36-foot-long log walls was once the blacksmith shop, as was the Porter garage in Prospect (Fig. 135). Little remains to indicate their original use, except possibly the profit-sharing coupon found in the former, apparently issued to the purchasers of Peerless Horseshoe Nails and redeemable only by blacksmiths.

Larger and more substantial buildings were erected to house another important trade, carriage making. These buildings were 2 or 2½ storeys high with double entrance doors on the gable end. Examples of these carriage shops can be seen in Eastons Corners (Fig. 136) and Westport (Fig. 137). The carriage shop in Westport, originally a blacksmith shop as well, now houses the Rideau District Museum.

Many early Ontario communities developed around a mill which was naturally sited at a source of potential waterpower. Merrickville, Burritts Rapids, Manotick (once the site of four mills), Oxford Mills and Westport all are typical of this type of settlement in the Rideau Corridor. Merrickville was in fact originally known as Merrick's Mills and owed its founding to William Merrick's selection of this site for a saw-mill. The saw-mills, which usually were the first mills to be built, were of frame construction while the woollen and grist mills were of stone. The latter were large, substantial buildings having plain symmetrical elevations well proportioned in the Georgian manner. Several of the early mills have survived but few are in good condition or serving their original purpose. The 2½-storey grist and lumber mill at Bedford Mills is now a residence and the original grinding stone serves as a doorstep. The machinery of the grist and woollen mill at Merrickville has been removed, and the building is

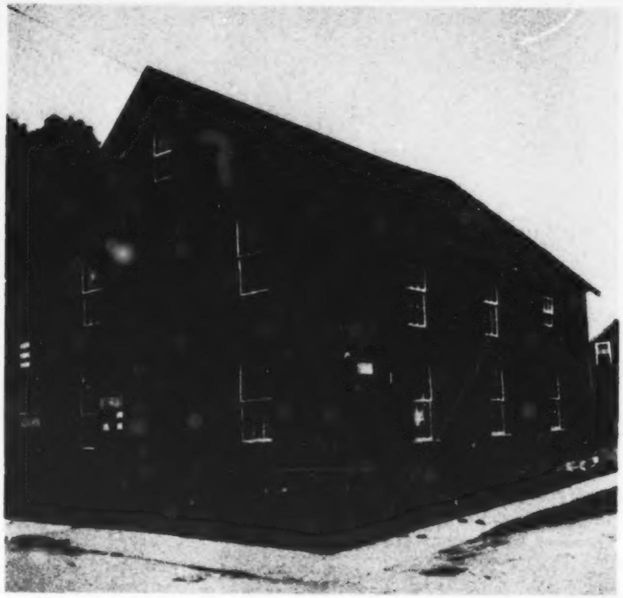
133 This log building erected in 1852 in Munster,
134 Goulbourn township, was the first store and post office in the community. The original pigeon holes for the mail are still on the wall.
135 Porter garage in Prospect, Beckwith township, originally the blacksmith shop.
136 Twin carriage shops in Eastons Corners, Wolford township. The first one (right) was built about 1870 by Mr. Watts whose name can still be seen on the building; the second one was added a few years later to cope with the expanding trade.
137 Rideau District Museum in Westport, North Crosby township, built in the 1860s and originally a carriage and blacksmith shop.


133


134

135

136


137

138 Merrick Mills in Merrickville, Wolford township, dating from 1848. The bell on the roof was originally used to mark the working hours.

139 Mill in Manotick, North Gower township, built in 1857 by M. K. Dickinson.

140 Cheese factory in Burridge township (Con. 8, Lot 22), now a carpenter's shop.

ELECTRO
PLATING
TIRES

138

WATSON'S MILL
MANOTICK

139

140

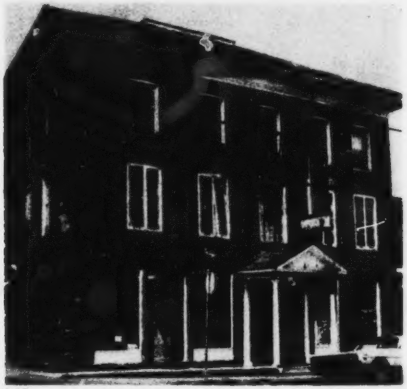
141 Rose's Inn, Montague township (Con. 2, Lot 22).
142 McKeen Hotel in Kemptville, Oxford township, was built in 1861 of brick from the local Clothier brickyard and is still in use as a hotel.
143 Grenville Hotel in Merrickville, Wolford township.
144-145 Reilly's Hotel in Richmond, North Gower township.
146 Hotel Imperial in Perth, a hotel for well over 100 years.

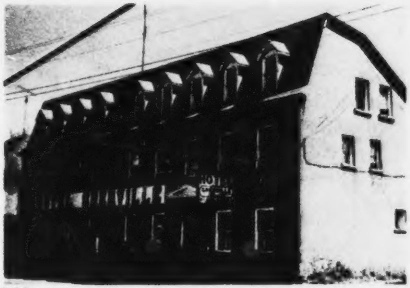
presently only partially occupied (Fig. 138). Gould's Mills in Smith's Falls erected in 1868 is another large stone mill complex that is no longer in use as a mill. Not the largest mill in the corridor but one of the best preserved is the Manotick Mill (Fig. 139), recently purchased by the Rideau Valley Conservation Authority. Erected in 1857, this handsome building still retains its original metal roofing, and the interior is exceptionally well finished with beaded beams and stylized Ionic capitals on the supporting columns. The machinery is intact and the mill is operational during the summer months.

Another important industry in the corridor which flourished somewhat later (in the 1870s) was cheese-making. Few cheese factories now remain as such, but one that retains its original form if not its original function is in Burridge (Fig. 140). This is an attractive building with the characteristic protective loading canopy intact. A cupola and weather-vane break the long line of the roof and enhance the building's silhouette.

The small inns and larger hostelries of the era varied considerably in size and design and have suffered various fates. Apparently before the 1850s there were few inns designed as such; if they were, only their history now distinguishes them from the houses of

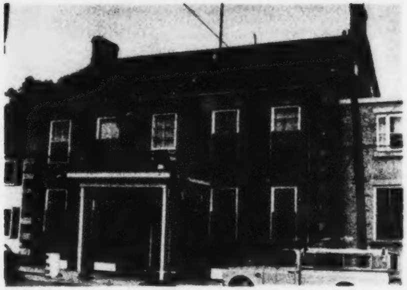
141


142


143

145

144


146

their time. Such is the case with Rose's Inn in Montague township (Fig. 141). This is a large 2½-storey stone building with the proportions of the British Renaissance style, a finely dentiled cornice and a huge stone fireplace in the parlour. It was built in the early part of the century and is now a private home.

About mid-century, substantial hotels were erected in the Rideau Corridor, a move reflecting the commercial development of the period. These buildings followed no fixed style or design and were constructed of frame, brick or stone. Some were of frame with full width upper galleries (an example existed in Burritts Rapids until 1971) ; others were large hip-roofed structures such as the McKeen Hotel in Kemptville (Fig. 142), while the Grenville Hotel built in Merrickville in 1857 (Fig. 143) is of yellow brick and has a pedimented entrance door in the style of the Classical Revival. One of the most famous in the early days was Reilly's Hotel in Richmond (Fig. 144), built in 1855 to capture the trade of merchants en route from Prescott to the upper Ottawa with lumbermen's supplies. It is a three-storey hip-roofed stone building with two of the original four large chimneys remaining as well as the broad, simply bracketed eaves. Both chimneys and eaves are rather distinctive style features for the time, the chimneys reminiscent of the earlier Regency style and the wide eaves anticipating the Italianate which became popular from the 1860s on. Also in existence are two early hostelries in Perth ; Hotel Imperial originally "Barrie House" built before 1850 and still in use as a hotel (Fig. 146), and Hotel Perth dating from 1826, a complex of buildings which have undergone many alterations over the years but are still in operation as a hotel.

The early shops or stores were invariably combined with living quarters above and ranged from 1½-storey front-gabled frame buildings to large two- and three-storey end-gabled stone structures. One of the few examples of the 1½-storey front gable store design is found in Portland where Scovil's store (Figs. 147, 148) was erected in 1850. Until quite recently this store retained the original fittings including a handsome paneled counter, shelving and drawers. Examples of the larger two-storey stone stores can be seen in Richmond and Oxford Mills. These buildings are very similar in design being well proportioned structures of coursed rubble with a chimney at each gable end. The Oxford Mills building still retains the multiple-paned show windows which distinguished the commercial from the residential section of the building (Fig. 149). Both buildings date from mid-century and are interesting reflections of the prosperity of the communities at the time.

The same type of store with living quarters on the upper floor was also built in the larger centres, especially Perth which has many examples. A number of these, however, have been extensively altered, losing their original roof line and in some instances being completely engulfed in additions. Typical of the style but surviving only relatively unscathed is the Brooks Block built in 1846 (Fig. 150).

Another type of store dating from the late 1860s and occasionally seen is an L-shaped plan with the store located in the front gabled section and the living quarters in the wing. An interesting example of this plan is the Foley house, erected in 1878 in Westport (Fig. 151).

With the coming of the railways and a rapid expansion in trade, the Commercial buildings in the Rideau corridor changed in character. Those erected in the 1870s were usually of brick, at least two storeys in height, housing shops, offices and warehouses. With decorative brick cornices and long rows of segmental or round-headed windows these buildings lined the main streets of nearly every medium-sized town in Ontario during the next 20 years. Typical examples are found in the Rideau Corridor in the larger centres such as Smith's Falls and Perth (Figs. 152, 153), the

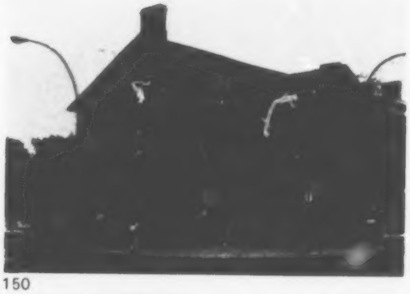
147 Scovil's store in Portland, Bastard township, is
148 typical in style of small general stores in rural communities and a "store style" which continued to be built well into the 20th century. This store is now a restaurant.
149 General store, Oxford Mills, Oxford township.

150 Brook's Block on Gore Street in Perth. The basically well-proportioned design of the building can still be seen despite awnings and alterations.
151 Foley house in Westport, North Crosby township. The projecting section houses the store which still retains its original fittings, and the side wing on the right the very handsomely finished living quarters.

147

148

149



150

151

152 Business block, Beckwith Street, Smith's Falls, its first storey altered to house contemporary shops.

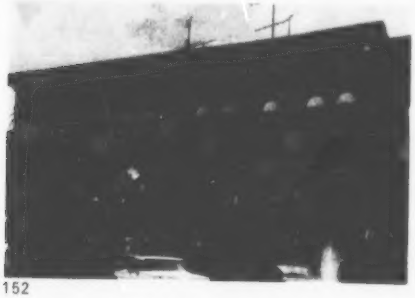
153 An elaborate brick cornice and an arched entrance to the rear courtyard distinguish this business block on Foster Street in Perth.

154 Garretts Block in Smith's Falls. The ground floor has been extensively altered.

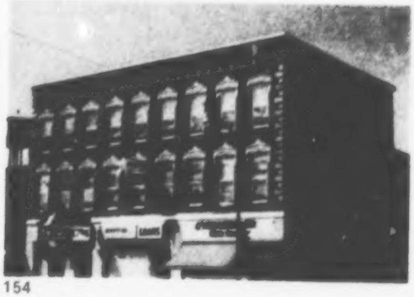
155 Town Hall, Montague township (Con. 2, Lot 21), erected in 1855.

156 Loyal Orange Lodge in Storrington township (Con. 7, Lot 3). Erected in 1857, this is one of several L.O.L. halls still surviving in the Rideau Corridor.

157 Temperance Hall in Wolford township (Con. 3,
158 Lot 11), erected in 1874.


152

153


154

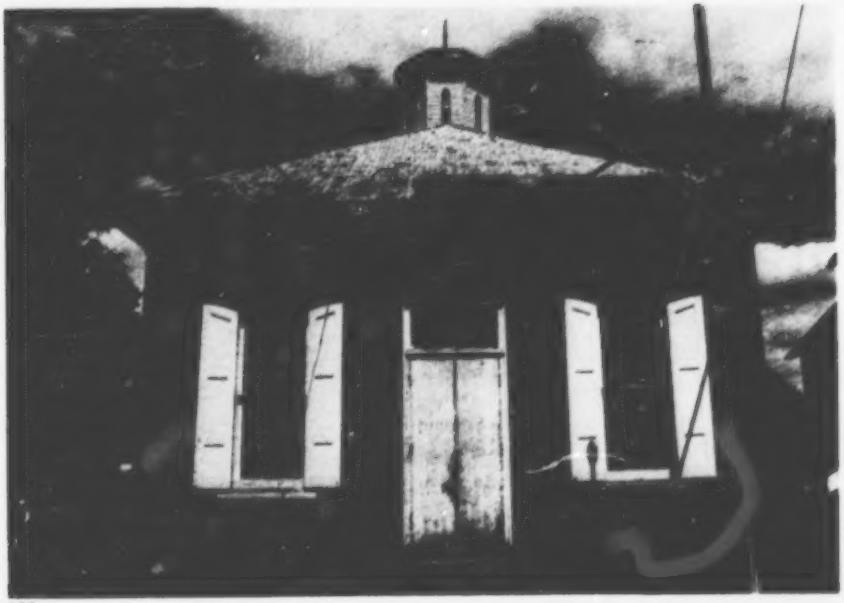
155

156

157

158

159 Town Hall, North Gower, North Gower township. This building has acquired an addition and now serves as the fire hall for the town.
160 Lanark County Court House on Drummond Street in Perth.
161 Lanark County Registry Office, Drummond Street, Perth.


159

160

161

earlier ones distinguished by arched openings into rear courtyards. A few more decoratively trimmed commercial buildings were also recorded, the most elaborate being the Garrett Block built in the late 1870s in Smith's Falls (Fig. 154).

The street-level storeys of many of the early commercial buildings in the Rideau Corridor have long since been altered to up-date the buildings and provide the necessary large display windows. In the smaller communities particularly, many of these buildings are only in partial use or stand vacant, silent reminders of the commercial life of the past.

Halls for social and administrative purposes were built in increasing numbers in the Rideau area after about 1850. Some of these town and township halls, Loyal Orange Lodges and Temperance Halls, have survived and are still in use, largely in rural areas. The early ones (pre-1870) are simple rectangular, end-gabled buildings looking very much like the schoolhouse of the time and built of stone or frame, such as the town hall in Montague township (Fig. 155) or the L.O.L. Hall in Storrington township (Fig. 156). The later examples are of brick, such as the Temperance Hall built in 1874 in Wolford township (Figs. 157, 158), and the interesting hip-roofed town hall in North Gower, built in 1876. The segmented-headed windows of the latter are in keeping with the style of the time but the design of the crowning cupola seems to be a relict of the earlier Classical Revival period (Fig. 159).

Conclusions

The most elaborate as well as the earliest of the administrative buildings in the area is the Lanark County Court House in Perth (Fig. 160). This well-proportioned building with pedimented gable, heavy cut-stone quoin accents and interesting windows with round-headed transoms was built in 1842. The building retains its original form, although a good deal of the detailing both inside and out (including a cupola) has been lost over the years; however, some of it is presently being restored and the building continues to serve the purpose for which it was intended.

One example of a county registry office was recorded (Fig. 161). It is a front-gabled, one-storey stone structure with heavy cut-stone trim on semi-circular headed openings, a design used repeatedly for such structures in Ontario. The example recorded was built in 1872 in Perth, and is still serving its original purpose.

These administrative buildings and their continuing use for their designed intent provide a very tangible link with the past, since they not only house the records of local history but are as well a visible reminder of it.

This, then, is the heritage: a concentration of 19th-century buildings which form a microcosm of rural Upper Canada 120 years ago and a tangible expression of the pioneering skill, faith and determination in the creation of an environment which still retains much of its original charm. Fortunately the heritage is a living one and great credit is due those who have kept it this way: the descendants of the original families who have carefully maintained the family homes; newcomers who have rescued and sympathetically restored so many of the houses; historical societies and local historians who have contributed endless time and effort to preserve threatened structures and to interest the residents of the region in their history and heritage.

Parts of this heritage, however, continue to be seriously threatened. The small rural schools and churches, the large commercial buildings in the small towns, the old inns, the mills, the tradesmen's shops have been rendered inadequate by the relentless pressures of social and economic change. To resent or now attempt to stifle the progress of the area would indeed be no tribute to the pioneers who worked so hard to ensure it; but in making our contribution, enough must be preserved to show the contributions of others along the way. Preservation of our architectural heritage is surely the finest tribute we can make to Canada's pioneer past.

Endnotes

1 Arthur R. M. Lower, *Colony to Nation: A History of Canada* (Toronto: Longmans, Green, 1964), p. 187.
2 Robert Legget, *Rideau Waterway* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1960), p. 100.
3 The Mechanics Institute was a pioneer organization designed primarily to provide a form of cultural education for the working man. The first institute, based on a similar organization in England, was founded in Upper Canada in 1831 and by the mid-19th century, branches were very numerous even in towns and villages. The Mechanics Institutes were instrumental in establishing local libraries for the use of tradesmen and the presence in their libraries of the carpenters' and builders' handbooks listed suggests that they were in current use at the time. It is interesting to note that many of Ontario's modern libraries began as a project of the local Mechanics Institute, and books are still available bearing the Mechanics Institute's original stamp of identification.
4 Sir Henry Wotton in his essay paraphrasing *Elements of Architecture* by Vitruvius, published in 1624.
5 "Clay of the proper colour, usually from a nearby bank, was put into the trough, and water was added. Most clays would produce red bricks when burned, but some made buff, grey, or white bricks. When white or buff trimming bricks became popular on red brick buildings, clay from specially chosen deposits was needed to produce them. (Nowadays the colour of bricks is altered by adding special materials or by making adjustments in the burning process.)" (T. Ritchie, *Canada Builds, 1867-1967* [Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1967], p. 207.)
6 Canada. Parliament, *Canada Canal Communication* (House of Commons, 1831), No. 123, Lt. Col. By to Gen. Mann, 15 March 1830, Royal Engineer's Office, Rideau Canal.
7 Ibid.
8 Canada. Public Archives, MG12, War Office Papers, 55, Vol. 880, p. 310, signed J. F. B. (Burgoyne).
9 Alan W. Gowans, *Building Canada: An Architectural History of Canadian Life* (Toronto: Oxford Univ. Press, 1966), p. 96.
10 Thomas Wilson West, *A History of Architecture in England* (London: Univ. of London Press, 1970), p. 127.
11 Nikolaus Pevsner, *An Outline of European Architecture* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1951), p. 253.
12 *See* T. W. Leavitt, *History of Leeds and Grenville* (Belville: Mika Silk Screening Co., 1972), p. 85, for a picture of the spire as originally designed.
13 A. Shortt and A. G. Doughty, eds., *Canada and Its Provinces* (Toronto: Glasgow Brook & Co., 1914), Vol. 18, p. 291.
14 Ibid., p. 280.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Canada. Public Archives.
MG12, War Office Papers, Vol. 55.
RG31, Canada West Census, 1861, Oxford, Leeds and Grenville North County; Montague, Lanark, South County.

Wallings County Maps of 1860s.

Secondary Sources

Battersea Women's Institute, comp.
Historical Battersea. N.p., 1967.

Benjamin, Asher
The American Builder's Companion: or, a System of Architecture, Particularly Adapted to the Present Style of Building. Repr. of 1827 ed. Dover Publications Inc., N.Y., 1969.

Blake, V. B. and R. Greenhill
Rural Ontario. Univ. of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1969.

Bond, Courtney C. J.
City on the Ottawa. Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1961.

Canada. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Canadian Historic Sites Division.
Historical Assets of the Rideau Waterway: A Review Prepared for the Canada-Ontario Rideau Canal Study Group. Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1967.

Canada. National Capital Commission. Information and Historical Division.
The Ottawa Country; A Historical Guide to the National Capital Region, by Courtney C. J. Bond. Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1968.

Canada. Parliament.
Canada Canal Communication. House of Commons, 1831.

Canniff, William
History of the Settlement of Upper Canada (Ontario) with Special Reference to the Bay Quinté. Dudley and Burns, Toronto, 1869.

Carsonby Historical Society
Carsonby: A Community History. Love Printing Service, Ottawa, 1969.

Cutts, Anson Bailey
"The Old Scottish Architecture of Ontario." *Canadian Geographic Journal,* Vol. 39, No. 5 (Nov. 1949), pp. 202-17. Ottawa.

Davidson, Marshall B.
The American Heritage History of Notable American Houses. American Heritage Publ. Co., N.Y., 1971.

Downing, A. J.
The Architecture of Country Houses. Repr. of 1850 ed. Dover Publications, Inc., N.Y., 1969.

Fletcher, Sir Banister F.
A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method, for Students, Craftsmen and Amateurs. 16th ed., rev. B. T. Batsford, London, 1954.

Gourlay, J. L.
History of the Ottawa Valley. Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1896.

Gourlay, Robert F.
General Introduction to Statistical Account of Upper Canada; Compiled with a View to a Grand System of Emigration in Connexion with a Reform of the Poor Laws. Simpkin and Marshall, London, 1822.

Gowans, Alan W.
Building Canada: An Architectural History of Canadian Life. Rev. and enl. ed. Oxford Univ. Press, Toronto, 1966.

Guillet, Edwin C.
Early Life in Upper Canada. Ontario Publ. Co., Toronto, 1933.
Pioneer Inns and Taverns. Publ. by the author, Toronto, 1954.

Hamlin, Talbot
Greek Revival Architecture in America. Repr. of 1944 ed. Dover Publications, Inc., N.Y., 1964.

Hereford, Sally
Our United Empire Loyalists Ancestry. Publ. by the author, Ottawa, 1958.

Illustrated Historical Atlas of the Counties of Frontenac, Lennox and Addington.
2d repr. ed. Mika Silk Screening, Belleville, 1972.

Kidson, Peter B. et al.
A History of English Architecture. Rev. ed. Pelican Books, Middlesex, 1965.

Kimball, Fiske
Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic. Repr. of 1922 ed. Dover Publications, Inc., N.Y., 1966.

Lafever, Minard
The Modern Builder's Guide. Repr. of 1846 ed. Dover Publications, Inc., N.Y., 1969.

Leavitt, T. W.
History of Leeds and Grenville. Facs. of 1879 ed. Mika Silk Screening, Belville, 1972.

Legget, Robert
Rideau Waterway. 2d repr. ed. Univ. of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1960.

Lower, Arthur R. M.
Colony to Nation: A History of Canada. 4th ed., rev. Longmans, Green, Don Mills, 1964.

McGill, Jean S.
A Pioneer History of the County of Lanark. T. H. Best, Toronto, 1968.

McKenzie, Ruth
Leeds and Grenville: Their First Two Hundred Years. McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1967.

MacRae, M. and A. Adamson
The Ancestral Roof. Clarke, Irwin, Toronto, 1963.

MacTaggart, John
Thirty Years in Canada: An Account of the Actual State of the Country in 1826-7-8. H. Colburn, London, 1829. 2 vols. Vol. 1.

Minhinnick, Jeanne
At Home in Upper Canada. Clarke, Irwin, Toronto, 1970.

Newman, L. H.
Andrewsville and Some Adjacent Properties. Publ. by the author, Smith's Falls, 1967.

Ontario, Newboro. Centennial Committee, comp.
The Isthmus: A Historical Sketch of Newboro. Standard Press, Smith's Falls, 1967.

Ontario, Richmond.
Richmond "150": Yesterday and Today, 1818-1968. Love Printing Service, Ottawa, 1968.

Pevsner, Nikolaus
An Outline of European Architecture. 2d ed., rev. Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1951.

Pothorn, Herbert
Styles of Architecture. B. T. Botsford, London, 1971. (First Eng. lang. ed. of *Baustile Südwest*, Verlag Gmbb. & Co., Munich, 1968.)

Rempel, John I.
Building with Wood and Other Aspects of Nineteenth Century Building in Ontario. Univ. of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1967.

Ritchie, T.
Canada Builds, 1867-1967. Univ. of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1967.

Shortt, A. and A. G. Doughty, eds.
Canada and Its Provinces. Glasgow Brook & Co., Toronto, 1914-17. 23 vols. Vols. 11, 12, 18.

Shortt, Edward, ed.
Perth Remembered. Mortimer Ltd., Ottawa, 1967.

The Illustrated Historical Atlas of Carleton County.
Repr. of 1879 ed. Ross Cumming, Port Elgin, 1971.

The Manotick Story, 1859-1959.
Centennial Souvenir Book.

Walker, H. J. and O. Walker
Carleton Saga. Runge Press, Ottawa, 1968.

West, Thomas Wilson
A History of Architecture in England. 2d ed. Univ. of London Press, London, 1968.
A History of Architecture in Scotland. Univ. of London Press, London, 1967.

Whiffen, Marcus
American Architecture since 1780: A Guide to the Styles. M. I. T. Press, Cambridge (Mass.), 1969.

Canadian Inventory of Historic Building,
National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Ottawa

Glassware Excavated at Fort Gaspereau, New Brunswick

by Jane E. Harris

Abstract

Most of the glassware excavated at Fort Gaspereau, New Brunswick (1751-56) consists of bottles and a small number of tumblers. French glass of the mid-18th century is represented by three distinct bottle types and a number of non-lead glass tumblers. English glass of the same period is also present with examples of only two bottle types. No tableglass could be identified as being of English manufacture. A variety of bottles and a few tumblers, many of probable North American manufacture, indicate the limited use of the site from the mid-19th century to at least the first half of the 20th century.

Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my appreciation to Jane Moussette, formerly of the National Historic Sites Service, and Steve Epps who were responsible for all of the illustrations ; to Margaret Brown, formerly with the Museum, Michigan State University, for her prompt and informative reply concerning the French glassware recovered at the excavation of Fort Michilimackinac, Michigan, and Bob Rosewarne, a local authority on Canadian druggists' bottles, for his willing help with bottle identification.

Introduction

Fort Gaspereau is situated at the mouth of the Gaspereau River where it empties into Baie Verte and the Northumberland Strait, approximately one mile from Port Elgin, New Brunswick (Fig. 1). It was built by the French in 1751 as part of a string of fortifications across the Isthmus of Chignecto. Following the capture of Fort Beausejour in 1755, Fort Gaspereau was peacefully surrendered to the English, who occupied it for approximately one year. Before abandoning the fort in 1756, the English burned it to prevent its reoccupation by the French. During the French occupation the number of soldiers stationed at the fort does not seem to have exceeded 20 at any one time, but the English garrison numbered approximately 200 (Ingram 1963).

In the 1930s considerable alteration to the fort, such as ploughing the interior and redefining the ditches, resulted in considerable disturbance of stratigraphy making it less than reliable as an archaeological indicator. Prior to this time, the site seems to have been popular as a picnic spot.

The excavation of the fort was conducted during the summer of 1966 by Iain Walker and Elizabeth Wylie of the National Historic Sites Service (Rick 1970: 23). This work resulted in the recovery of fragments representing 150 to 200 glass bottles and tumblers as well as 10 pounds of burned glass. These artifacts represent two distinct periods at the fort: the first covers the years of occupation (1751-56), and the second begins in the latter half of the 19th century and continues almost to the present.

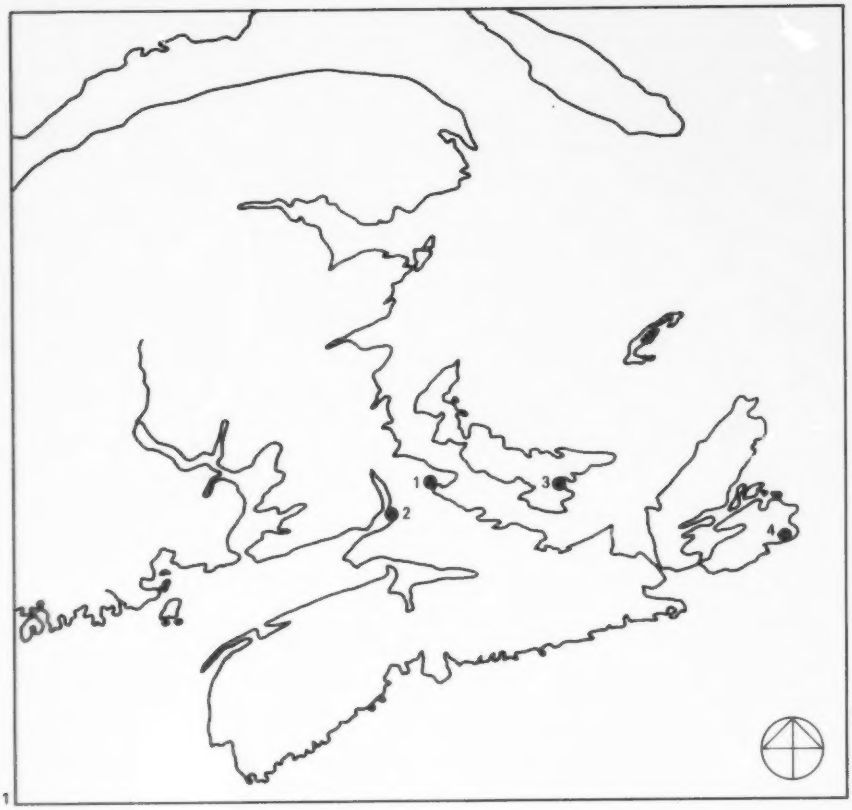
Since the site has such a closely dated period of occupation it was hoped the study of its glass artifacts would assist in the interpretation of similar artifacts from other sites by providing type examples or differentiating between artifacts of French and English origin. The study has done this but on a much smaller scale than was anticipated.

The analysis of the artifacts has been divided into three sections commensurate with the occupation periods of the fort and beginning with artifacts representative of the French occupation, between 1751 and 1755. The late 19th-century material has been described and identified as an aid in determining which excavation units have been contaminated. Where the structures are referred to by name, excavations in these areas are indicated.

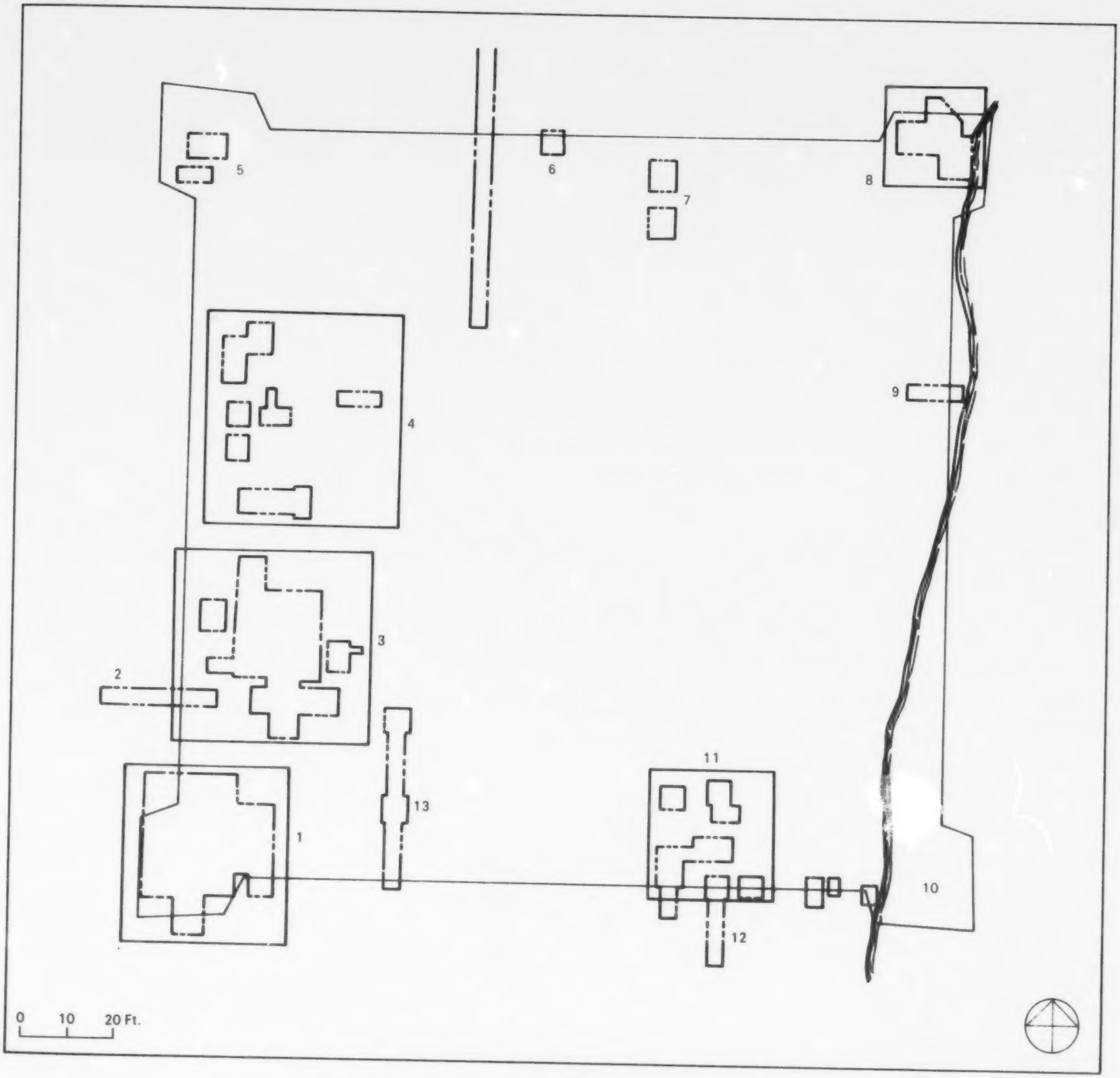
Colour was determined using the Nickerson Color Fan (Munsell Color Company) under fluorescent lighting. A shortwave ultra-violet light source (Fisher Scientific, UVS-11) was used to determine the presence of lead in the glass. (When lead is present the glass fluoresces a cold, light blue.)

1 Site location map:
  1 Fort Gaspereau
  2 Fort Beausejour
  3 the Roma site
  4 Fortress of Louisbourg

1



2 Site and excavation plan of Fort Gaspereau
1 southwest bastion
2 west palisade and ditch trench
3 commandant's quarters
4 proposed barracks
5 northwest bastion
6 north palisade and ditch trenches
7 powder magazine
8 northeast bastion
9 east palisade trench
10 southeast bastion
11 proposed British officers' quarters
12 south palisade and ditch trench
13 *magasin des vivres*



2

Artifacts from the French Occupation

The French period (1751-55) is quite well represented by olive green wine bottles, square-sectioned blue-green bottles, wide-mouthed blue-green bottles, and small non-lead glass tumblers.

Wine Bottles

A minimum of six wine bottles is represented by 37 fragments of glass from the areas of the northeast, northwest and southwest bastions, the commandant's quarters, the *magasin des vivres* and the proposed barracks. The largest concentration of artifacts was found in the southwest bastion.

The most complete wine bottle is olive green (7.5Y), seed bubbled, and has a heavy brownish patina that has flaked off in several places exposing a grainy surface (Fig. 3). The finish is plain, consisting of a cracked-off slightly fire-smoothed lip 32 mm. in diameter and 6 mm. to 8 mm. above an untooled, rounded string rim which is 39 mm. in diameter and 5 mm. to 11 mm. high. The body, present only to a height of 75 mm., is circular in cross-section and has the characteristically French "flower-pot" shape mentioned by Noël Hume (1961: 110). The heel is smooth and rounded, forming a base diameter of approximately 110 mm. The push-up, a symmetrical, rounded cone approximately 40 mm. high, has a ragged pontil mark 33 mm. in diameter, which may have been formed by using the glass left on the blowpipe (moil) as a pontil or a glass-tipped pontil rod.

All that remains of a second bottle is the push-up (Fig. 4). The glass is similar to that of the previous bottle, having the same type of patina and colour. The push-up has a rounded cone shape, is 38 mm. high and has a base diameter of almost 100 mm. Empontiling was most likely done with a glass-tipped pontil rod which left a scar 30 mm. in diameter.

A third and fourth bottle are represented by two neck-finish fragments. One fragment (Fig. 5) is olive green (10Y) with a grainy textured surface ; the other, also olive green (7.5Y) has a flakey brown patina. Each has a cracked-off and fire-smoothed lip 30 mm. in diameter with an approximate height of 4 mm. to 6 mm.

A fifth and sixth bottle are represented by two neck fragments, each of which is olive green (7.5Y) with a flakey brown patina. The necks taper toward the finish and join the shoulder in a wide curve. One fragment has long vertical striations which twist to the right as they rise.

Bottles of this type are common to French colonial sites such as the Fortress of Louisbourg in Nova Scotia (Marwitt 1966) and the Roma site in Prince Edward Island. Their distinctive body shape places them in the middle of the 18th century (Barrelet 1953 : 102 ; Noël Hume 1970 : 71) ; however, they were probably being manufactured earlier in the century as J. B. Chardin, in his painting *La Pourvoyeuse* (1738) (National Gallery of Canada) depicts two dark glass bottles of similar form. They are documented by Diderot and d'Alembert (1772 : 8-9) as being the type of bottle produced from a coal-fired furnace. Burning coal in place of wood in the melting furnace was an English innovation of the early 1600s when the scarcity of wood in England prompted a royal decree prohibiting its use (Thorpe 1969 : 66). The French, however, did not begin to use coal until the early 1700s when wine merchants found that the heavier, stronger and darker glass produced in a coal-fired furnace was more suitable for transporting wine (Scoville 1968 : 41).

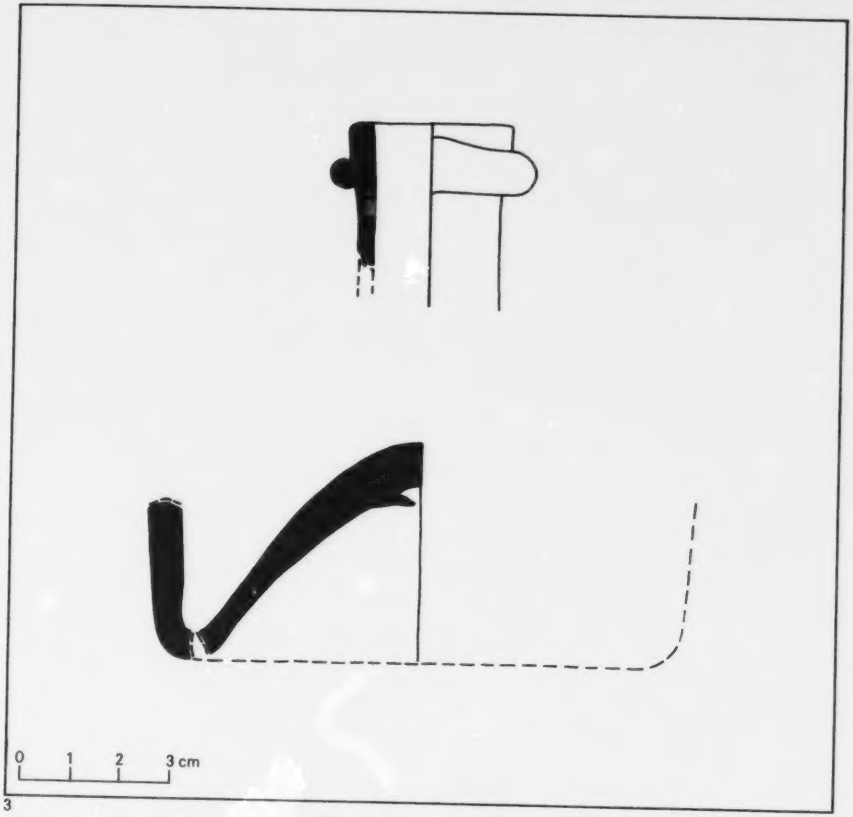
Square Blue-Green Bottles

At least four tall square-sectioned bottles are represented by 24 fragments of heavily seed-bubbled blue-green glass found in the excavated areas of the northeast and southwest bastions, the commandant's quarters, the proposed British officers' quarters, the south palisade and ditch trench and the proposed barracks. The heaviest concentration of these artifacts occurred in the southwest bastion in many of the same excavation units in which French wine bottle fragments were found.

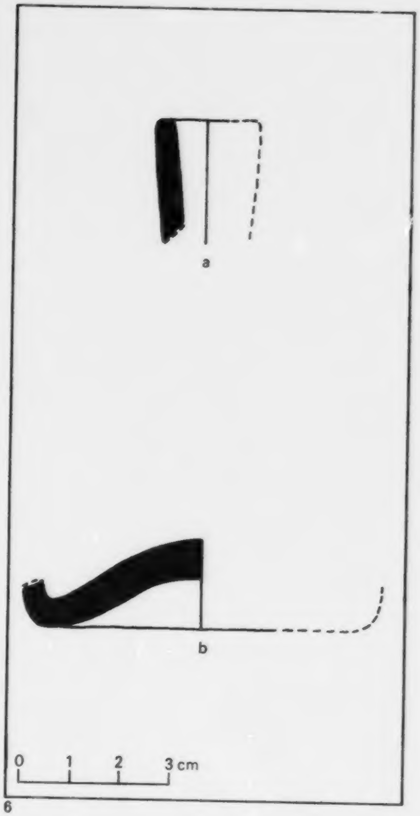
Only two base fragments were recovered. The most complete one (Fig. 6,*b*) measures 70 mm. by 70 mm. at its base and presents a concave basal profile 10 mm. high. The pontil mark is a roughened circular depression at the centre of the basal surface 30 mm. in diameter. The glass (2.5BG) is heavily pitted, possibly from being burned. The second base fragment is the same in form and size as the first, varying slightly in colour (7.5BG). Roughness at the centre of the basal area could indicate a sand or glass-tipped pontil mark (Jones 1971 : 69).

Only one of the body fragments presents a complete bottle width : 72 mm. None of the other fragments exceed this width.

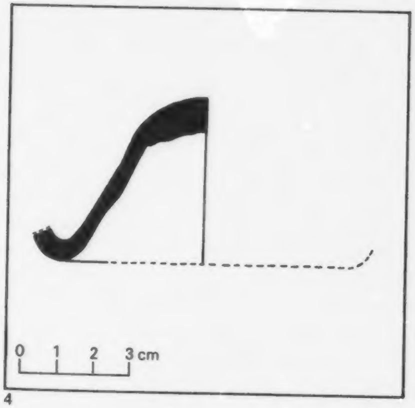
3 Neck and base fragment of a French wine bottle (1E1T3-8).
4 French wine bottle base fragment (1E3S1-6).
5 French wine bottle neck fragment (1E4D1-2).
6 Square blue-green bottle fragments.
  a an almost complete neck.
  b base fragment (1E1W2-9, 1E3C6-4).



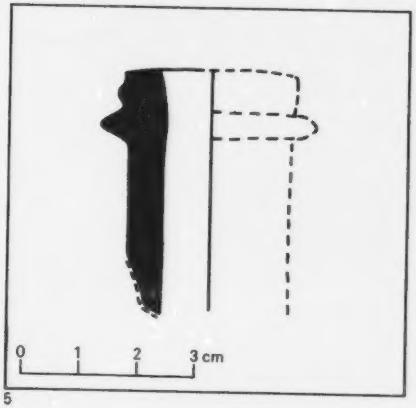
3



6



4



5

The only neck fragment found is cylindrical with a cracked-off and fire-polished lip 20 mm. in diameter (Fig. 6,*a*). The neck is present to a height of 25 mm. and seems to narrow slightly toward the shoulder. The glass (10G) has a whitish bloom.

A French context of the mid-18th century seems quite likely when dating this bottle shape as these bottles have turned up in abundance at other French colonial sites such as the Fortress of Louisbourg in Nova Scotia (Dunton : pers. comm.) and in specifically French areas of Fort Michilimackinac in Michigan (Brown 1971: 108). Little seems to be known about their use ; however, Margaret Brown feels they may be liquor bottles due to their size and numbers. Their horizontal shoulder and narrow neck would certainly suggest they held a liquid of low viscosity such as liquor.

Wide-Mouthed Blue-Green Bottles
A minimum of 15 wide-mouthed bottles is represented by 126 fragments of blue-green glass making these the most common bottles found at Fort Gaspereau. The fragments vary in colour from 7.5BG to 2.5G, are densely bubbled and lightly patinated. They were found in almost all excavated areas within the fort but mainly in the southwest bastion and the commandant's quarters. Fewer fragments were found in the northeast and northwest bastions, the proposed barracks, the *magasin des vivres*, the proposed British officers' quarters and the south palisade and ditch trenches.

This bottle form is characterized by a particularly wide, tapering neck with a thick, fire-smoothed lip that may have been cracked off or sheared. A very short, rounded shoulder joins the neck to a cylindrical, possibly tapered body. The absence of mould lines indicates the bottle has been mouthblown in a dip mould.

When measuring the neck fragments it was found that the lip diameters fell into two distinct sizes : 42 mm. to 52 mm. and 70 mm. to 80 mm., indicating two possible bottle sizes. Neck heights could not be associated with the diameters, for only one neck with a complete height was found. The most complete neck (Fig. 7) falls into the first category, having a diameter of 48 mm. at the lip and tapering down to approximately 38 mm. at the shoulder. Its height is 63 mm. Horizontal grooves mark the lower portion of the neck while seed bubbles in the upper portion have a horizontal orientation, a result of tooling the reheated neck after it was cracked off or sheared. Where the glass was hottest (at the lip) no marks were left, but where it was slightly cooler (at the base), grooves remain.

Neck fragments outnumbered possible base fragments by approximately nine to one. Only three base fragments were found. One base (Fig. 8), is of thin blue-green (5BG) bubbled glass. It is 55 mm. in diameter and presents a dome-shaped push-up profile 11 mm. high with a glass-tipped pontil mark 23 mm. in diameter at the tip. The body, present only to a height of 12 mm., appears to be cylindrical.

The second base is represented by a small curved fragment of blue-green (2.5BG) glass. The push-up has a dome-shaped profile, more rounded than the previous one, and an extant height of 11 mm. Only the edge of a pontil mark is present. The basal diameter is approximately 45 mm.

The third base (Fig 9), appears to belong to the larger sized bottles. The glass (7.5BG) is in very good condition, thick and densely bubbled. Its base diameter is approximately 72 mm. The push-up, formed prior to empontiling, is conical and 43 mm. high, bearing a glass-tipped pontil mark 25 mm. in diameter.

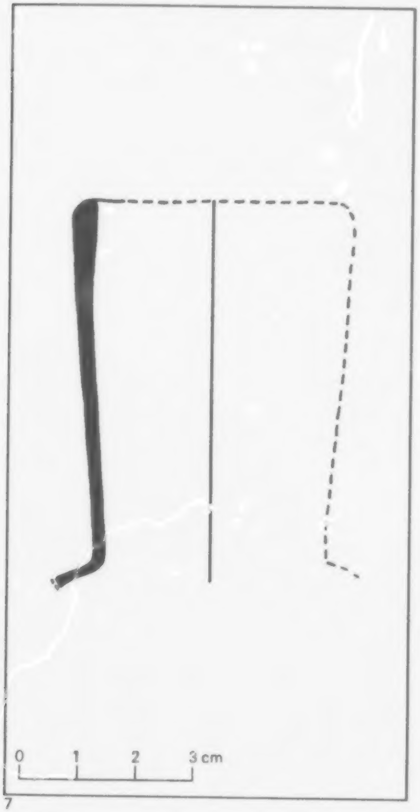
Once again, the function of these bottles is uncertain but their wide mouth would suggest that they were used for packing solid or semi-solid items. In a French memorandum of 1773, olives, capers and anchovies are mentioned as being packed in bottles for shipment from Marseilles to the colonies in America (Scoville 1968 : 111).

The presence of similar bottles on other sites such as the Fortress of Louisbourg, the Roma site and Fort Michilimackinac (Brown : pers. comm.) where five different sizes were recorded, should be noted as all of these sites were occupied by the French before 1760.

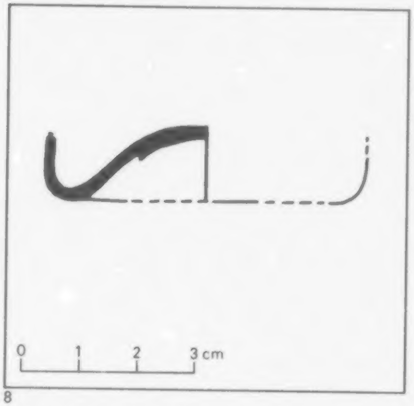
The colour and quality of the blue-green glass are also important features which are an aid in determining the origin of these bottles. In 18th-century France there were two bottle-making traditions as outlined by Scoville (1968 : 11, 43). One, already described, concerned the manufacture of wine and liquor bottles exclusively, made from a heavy, dark glass produced in coal-fired furnaces.

7 Neck of a wide-mouthed blue-green bottle (1E3M3-5).
8 Blue-green base fragment (1E2P2-5).
9 Blue-green base. Note that push-up was formed prior to empontiling as pontil mark occurs two-thirds of the way up the push-up (1E1A4-1).

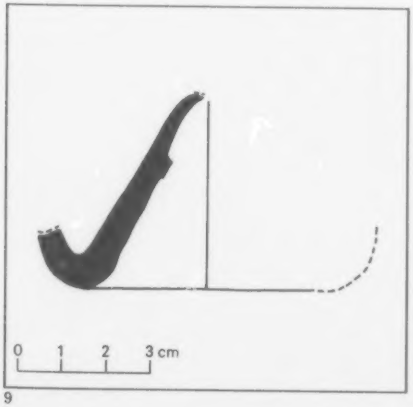
10 Pattern-moulded tumbler.
a face view and profile.
b basal view illustrating pontil mark and moulded patterns (1E2C2-3).



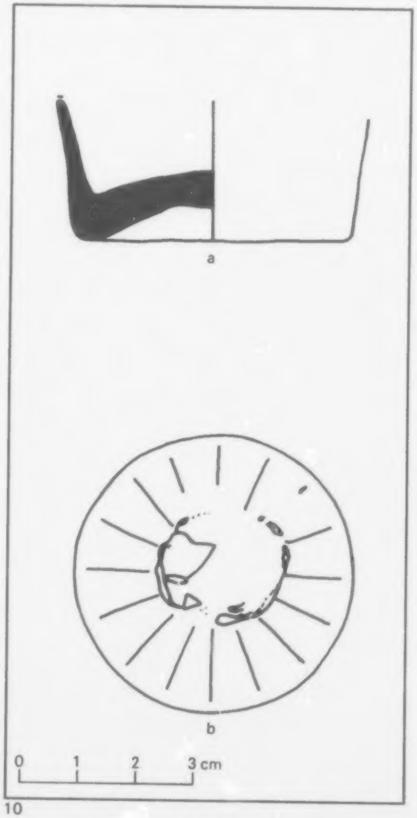
7



8



9



10

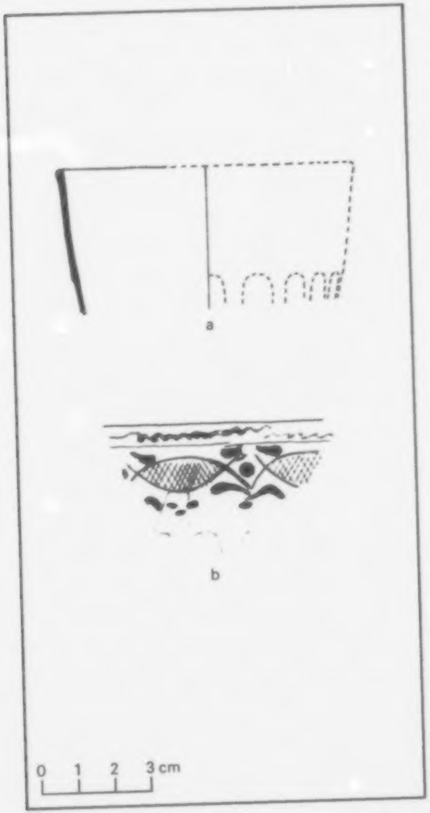
As open pots were used, fumes from the coal darkened the glass. The higher temperature produced by coal allowed for less flux and more sand to be added to a batch, resulting in stronger glass (Scoville 1968 : 41).

The second and older tradition involved a wood-fired furnace from which articles of "common green" glass were made. Fumes from the wood smoke did not effect the colour of the glass so drastically. A number of different bottle types and containers were made in this glass (Scoville 1968 : 111-12), possible examples being the two types mentioned from Fort Gaspereau. All of the blue-green glass examples found at Fort Gaspereau seem to be consistent in colour and quality (heavily seed-bubbled) with those from the other sites mentioned. This leads to the supposition that this glass is the "common green" glass referred to by Scoville as being the type produced in wood-fired furnaces in 18th-century France.

Tumblers

A minimum of 12 and possibly as many as 20 small pattern-moulded tumblers is represented by 28 fragments of clear non-lead glass from the excavated areas of the commandant's quarters, the southwest bastion and an area of the proposed barracks adjacent to the commandant's quarters. All, with the exception of four or five tumblers which will be discussed separately, have a simple pattern-moulded design of narrow vertical ribs.

11 Part of a Stiegel-type tumbler.
a face view and profile showing pattern-moulded rib and panel design.
b face view of one fragment showing copper wheel engraved design between pattern-moulding and lip (1E2N1-8).



11

Pattern moulding was a technique widely used throughout Europe in the first half of the 18th century (Haynes 1959 : 130). A pattern mould was a part-sized dip mould with an incised design, most commonly ribs, panels or diamonds. The gather of glass was forced down into the mould, removed and expanded without the restriction of the mould. This technique resulted in a characteristically diffuse pattern that was present on the exterior of the vessel and, to a lesser degree, on the interior also.

In spite of the basic similarity, minor variations in the design do occur within the group. Rib spacing varies from tumbler to tumbler, and on two of six tumbler bases the design continues onto the basal surface. In each case the base has been empontiled with a small glass-tipped pontil leaving a scar no larger than 20 mm. in diameter. One tumbler has had the pontil mark ground off. Base diameters are consistent at approximately 48 mm. with the exception of one base, which is only 42 mm. in diameter. The bodies tend to widen as they rise. The most complete tumbler has an extant height of 57 mm., and at this point the ribs have become fainter and further apart.

The glass in all of the tumblers has decomposed to some extent, the most common form of decomposition being crizzling accompanied by a colour change from clear to a pinkish orange (2.5YR). Present to a lesser degree are fragments with a pale purple tint.

The manufacturing method, as described above, and the characteristics of the quality of the glass strongly suggest that these tumblers are all of mid-18th-century French manufacture. No lead glass was produced in France until the 1780s (Scoville 1968 : 44) and the clear glass that was produced before this time was often characterized by a pinkish tint and crizzling indicating lack of "quality control" (Charleston 1952 : 18-19). The presence of manganese, sometimes used as a decolourizer by the French, would account for the pale purple tint observed in some of the fragments (Scoville 1968 : 38). The presence of manganese in clear glass can be readily observed because prolonged exposure to sunlight causes the glass to take on a purple tint (Toulouse 1969a : 434).

The one ground pontil mark appears at first glance to be an intrusive feature since it is generally thought that pontil marks were not ground until at least the late 1700s (Thorpe 1969 : 39). However, there are several tumblers from the Roma site that have ground and polished pontil marks and that relate to a French archaeological context from 1732-45.

One tumbler represented by a pale gray, slightly crizzled base shown in Figure 10 varies significantly from the above. Its difference lies in its method of manufacture. After being removed from the pattern mould the gather was placed in a plain dip mould and expanded. This caused the pattern to be transferred to the interior of the vessel. This process, called the "optical effect," is described and illustrated by Larsen, Riismøller and Schülter (1963 : 398) and is a technique that has been in use since Roman times. The pattern in this case consists of very faint panels on the interior surface which have an approximate width of 10 mm. It appears as though the second mould did not have a base, for the pattern is still present on the exterior basal surface of the tumbler (Fig. 10,*b*). Here it takes the form of radiating impressions which divide the base into 16 segments. There should also be 16 panels on the interior of the body but the panels are too faint to be counted. The base of this tumbler is 49 mm. in diameter and bears a glass-tipped pontil mark 22 mm. in diameter with a push-up height of 8 mm.

Two tumblers from Fort Beausejour, New Brunswick exhibiting the same manufacturing process, are crizzled and have the same base diameter as the above tumbler; however, these do have a pinkish orange tint. Both are from a French archaeological context with the same dating as Fort Gaspereau (McNally 1971 : 31). It seems reasonable to assume, therefore, that the tumbler mentioned above is also of French origin and of a time period consistent with the French occupation of Fort Gaspereau. The colour differences are probably indicative of impure raw materials or content inconsistencies from batch to batch.

Another tumbler (Fig. 11) which differs from the first group is represented by four clear and unpatinated fragments. The lip, 74 mm. in diameter, has been fire-polished. Approximately 27 mm. below it is the top of a pattern-moulded design of alternating ribs and panels. Between the lip and the ribbing is a band of rather sketchy copper wheel engraving in a pattern identified by Hunter (1950 : Figs. 114-17) as "Stiegel Type I." (H. W. Stiegel, an American of German descent, operated a glasshouse at Manheim, Pennsylvania from 1770 to 1774. He employed English and continental craftsmen and made glass in imitation of the prevailing English and continental styles [McKearin & McKearin 1948 : 82-85].)

At least two more tumblers similar to the above are represented by three small fragments, each bearing part of an engraved design similar or identical to Stiegel Type I. This type of tumbler was popular well before Stiegel's time and is broadly labeled by McKearin & McKearin (1948 : 49) as "cheaper Continental." An example of the popularity of the design is shown in fragments of this type that have been found at Fort Beausejour, New Brunswick (McNally 1971 : 114) and Yuquot, British Columbia (Jones 1970 : 6). It is representative of the strong German-Bohemian influence on continental glass, particularly French glass, in the first half of the 18th century (Scoville 1968 : 113; Elville 1961 : 100). Consequently, these tumblers may either have been manufactured in Germany or Bohemia as part of their export trade to France, or manufactured in France in imitation of the German and Bohemian styles.

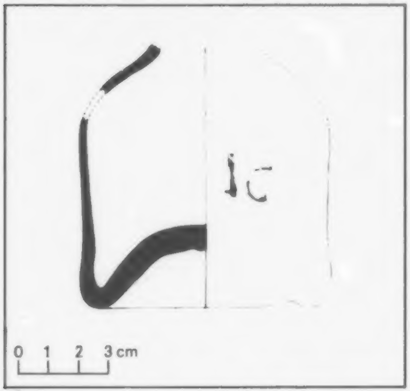
The strongest argument against these tumblers being English exists in the fact that the tumblers have been made of non-lead glass. The English found lead glass to be a much preferred medium for engraving (Elville 1951 : 153). Of the 24 excavation units containing tumbler fragments, 18 also contained French bottle fragments while only 5 had English bottle fragments, thus offering further proof that the tumblers do not relate to the English occupation of the fort.

Wine and Spirits Bottles

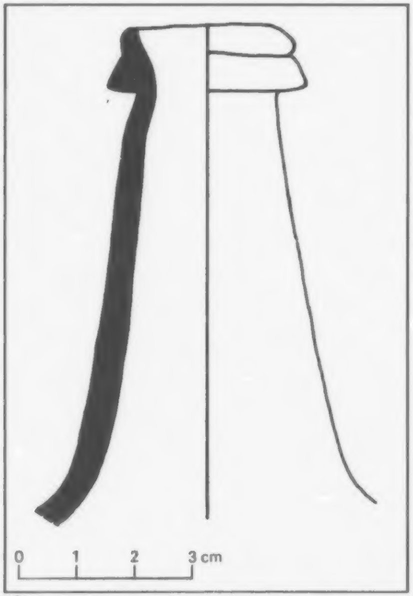
English glass artifacts recovered from the fort are mainly limited to wine bottle fragments. There were 28 of these fragments found, most of which were excavated from the areas of the commandant's quarters and the southwest bastion, while the remainder came from the proposed barracks, the northeast bastion and the south palisade and ditch trench. Due to the fragmentary condition of the bottles it is difficult to determine their exact number; however, there are at least 10 and possibly as many as 25 bottles represented.

One bottle is represented by an almost complete olive green (5Y) body and base (Fig. 12). The glass is in very good condition with a glossy surface and no patina. The body is cylindrical and wide in relation to its height: 117 mm. in diameter, 90 mm. high, and has a distinct basal sag. The base is also 117 mm. in diameter with a dome-shaped push-up 31 mm. high. The push-up bears a light sand pontil mark 60 mm. in diameter and a small, irregular mamelon at the tip 5 mm. in diameter. The presence of a mamelon on a bottle of this period is an unusual

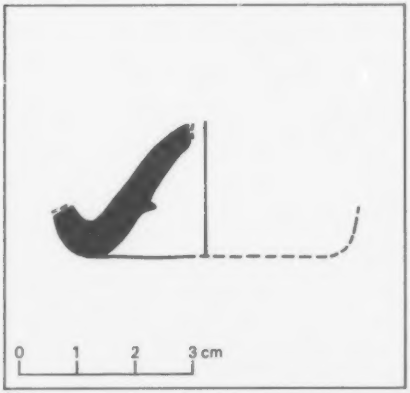
12 Almost complete English wine bottle, illustrating scratched initials "JC" and the mamelon at the tip of the push-up (1E3C6-2).
13 English wine bottle neck (1E2D1-5).
14 Base fragment of a pharmaceutical bottle (1E2L1-13).



12



13



14

feature as they are not commonly found on bottle bases before the 1800s.

In Noël Hume's (1961 : 104) wine bottle typology, bottles of this type date to 1740-60, an intermediate stage in the evolution of the tall cylindrical wine bottle. These dates are supported by Renée Marwitt (1966) who reports bottles like the above found at the Fortress of Louisbourg in a probable archaeological context of 1754, and Rees Price (1908 : Fig. 7, facing p. 124) illustrates a sealed wine bottle of the same form bearing the date 1755.

A curious feature of this bottle is the set of initials "JC" crudely scratched on the body. The same initials have been found scratched on a wine or spirits bottle from Fort Beausejour. Although the two forts are less than 20 miles apart the dates of the bottles differ considerably. The Beausejour bottle is tall and cylindrical, and probably dates from the late 18th century or even the early 19th century (Noël Hume 1961 : 103). These bottles might have belonged to the same person or family.

A second bottle is represented by a complete neck (Fig. 13) of olive green (7.5Y) lightly patinated glass. The neck is tapered, 24 mm. in diameter below the finish, 33 mm. at its mid-point, and 46 mm. at its base. It is 80 mm. high including the 11 mm. high finish. The finish consists of an everted lip 3.5 mm. to 5 mm. in height and 28 mm. to 30 mm. in diameter, and an applied, down-tooled string rim 5 mm. to 7 mm. high and 34 mm. in diameter. On the whole the neck is well made although slightly asymmetrical about the finish.

Again according to Noël Hume's typology (1961 : 104), this type of neck and finish is common to 1740-60 and would originally have come from a bottle similar to the initialed bottle described above.

Nine other finish fragments were found and all have the same form and colour as the neck described above. The lip heights vary from 3 mm. to 6 mm.; string rim heights from 5 mm. to 8 mm.

Thirteen push-up fragments exhibit characteristics which distinguish them from French bottle bases. All of the fragments are of thick, dark olive green glass varying from 2.5GY to 2.5Y, eight being 7.5Y. The fragments appear to be from bases similar in size and shape to the base in Figure 12. The push-ups are wide and rounded with evidence of sand pontil marks. The base diameters, which could only be taken approximately, fell between 100 mm. and 120 mm. These features are indicative of English rather than French manufacture.

There is, however, one base fragment of olive green (7.5Y) glass from a very mixed unit in the west palisade and ditch trench which has a much smaller base diameter. This specimen has a glossy, orange-peel textured surface and a cylindrical body, a pronounced basal sag and a base diameter of approximately 90 mm. The smaller diameter and more pronounced basal sag suggest the bottle was tall and slim giving it a manufacturing date of 1770-1800 (Noël Hume 1961 : 105), although this date is not consistent with the occupation dates of the fort.

Pharmaceutical Bottles

Pharmaceuticals were small, mouth-blown bottles or phials which had a cylindrical body; short, cylindrical neck, and a flanged lip. Their bases were usually conical or slightly domed. They were often "bottle" or emerald green in colour and were common during the first half of the 18th century. Although in many cases the body shape remained the same these bottles were manufactured in clear lead glass after mid-century (Noël Hume 1969 : 42-43) due to restrictions imposed by the government on green glass bottle manufacturers prohibiting them from manufacturing bottles of less than a six-ounce capacity (Wyatt 1966 : 9).

Only one possible example of this bottle type was recovered, a base fragment from the southwest bastion (Fig. 14). The glass is medium green (10G), bubbled and slightly patinated. The conical push-up is 18 mm. high and bears a glass-tipped or ring-shaped pontil mark 21 mm. in diameter. The base is approximately 50 mm. in diameter with a wide, rounded heel. There are signs of wear on the bearing surface.

Artifacts from the Post-Occupation Period

Artifacts from this period are varied and include liquor bottles, beer bottles, beverage bottles, a paneled bottle, food storage containers and tumblers. There are only a few examples of each type; nevertheless, a wide number of manufacturing techniques are represented.

Liquor Bottles

Liquor bottles were found in the north, south and west palisade and ditch trenches and the proposed British officers' quarters. One bottle is represented by a base-body fragment that has been made in a turn or paste mould. The glass, black in reflected light, is olive green (7.5Y) with a shiny surface. The body is cylindrical, 79 mm. in diameter and marked by horizontal striations from being turned in the mould. It has an extant height of 133 mm. The base is 79 mm. in diameter and has a concave, tiered basal surface. The tiers are formed by smooth, flattened ridges with diminishing diameters. The central portion of the basal surface is flat, 29 mm. in diameter and has an orange-peel texture. There are no signs of wear on the bearing surface. A small, irregular depression occurs on the interior of the bottle at the base-body junction. This could possibly be a result of carrying the bottle to the lehr upon a metal rod inserted through the mouth of the bottle. Such a method, illustrated by Moser (1969 : Taf. 2) and Kendrick (1968 : 168) could easily cause a mark in the area of the base-body junction.

Since there is no pontil mark on this bottle, its earliest possible date of manufacture is in the 1850s (Scoville 1948 : 17). Turn moulds, however, were popular in the United States in the 1870s (Toulouse 1969b : 532) and were used well into the first quarter of the 20th century during the gradual change-over to automatic bottle machines (Davis 1949 : 213-14).

A second bottle is represented by a complete neck of glossy, pale green (2.5G) glass (Fig. 15). It has been mouthblown in a mould and after removal from the mould, finished by hand with the aid of a finishing tool. The neck is bulged, 85 mm. high, 27 mm. in diameter below the finish, 38 mm. at mid-neck and 36 mm. at its base. A pair of faint vertical mould lines bisect the neck ending under the finish. The finish, which is 25 mm. high, consists of a flat tip 14 mm. high and 30 mm. in diameter ; a down-tooled string rim 6 mm. high and 30 mm. in diameter, and a stopper-finished bore.

Stopper finishes were designed to accommodate stoppers and shell corks ; that is, plain glass stoppers with a tube of cork over their shank. They were in use at least as early as 1887 as they appear in the Whitall, Tatum and Company catalogue of that year and were probably used until the 1920s when the standardization of the continuous thread closure made many types of closures uneconomical (Lief 1965 : 26). A bottle of this type, called a "sloe gin," appears on page 22 of the Dominion Glass Company's *Bottlers' Glassware Catalogue No. 13* published in the 1920s (Rosewarne: pers. comm.).

A third bottle, a shoofly flask, is represented by a neck (Fig. 16) of glossy pale blue-green (2.5BG) glass. This bottle would have been manufactured in the same fashion as the previous bottle and is hand-finished with a flat lip, down-tooled string rim and stopper-finished bore. The lip is 15 mm. high and 28 mm. in diameter, and the string rim is 7 mm. high and 24 mm. to 26 mm. in diameter. The neck is very short, 36 mm. high and bulged, having diameters of 24 mm., 26 mm., and 26 mm. respectively. Two vertical mould lines bisect the neck ending a few millimetres below the finish.

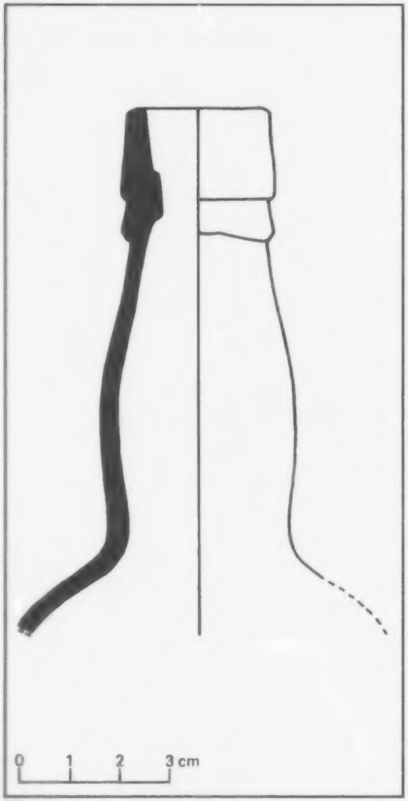
The finish on this bottle is much neater than the previous bottle, a feature which suggests that the earliest date of manufacture is 1870, the date of the invention of the gas-fired glory-hole, by which more intense heat could be localized on the neck while it was being reheated to take the excess glass for the finish (Toulouse 1969b : 534). A better weld was then possible, resulting in a more uniform finish. The bottle may thus be dated from the years between 1870 and the first quarter of the 20th century when machine-made bottles made up 90 per cent of the total bottle output in the United States (Davis 1949 : 213-14).

Possibly a fourth and fifth bottle are represented by a finish fragment and a body fragment both of shiny, pale green glass.

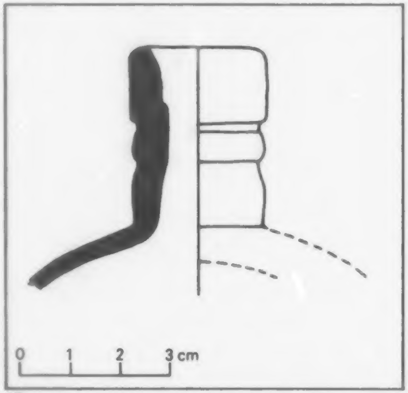
A sixth bottle, machine-made, is represented by three green (7.5GY) body and neck fragments. The fragments show evidence of having been burned. The body is cylindrical and bubbled with a vertical mould line. The neck is bulged and has a vertical

15 Hand-finished liquor bottle neck with stopper-finished bore (1E3C5-3).

16 Hand-finished shoofly flask neck with stopper-finished bore (1E1N1-5).



15



16

mould line and its shadow (the blank mould line) an indication of machine manufacture. The bottle dates after 1903 when machines were first used for commercial production of narrow-mouthed ware (Davis 1949 : 208).

Two more fragments represent a seventh and possibly an eighth bottle. They are from the rounded shoulder of a machine-made amber (5YR) flask dating after 1903.

Another flask is represented by a rounded shoulder fragment. This flask was machine-made and has a purple tint resulting from the use of manganese as a decolourizer, consequently placing the manufacture of the flask between 1903 and World War I, after which manganese was no longer readily available as its main source had been Germany (Toulouse 1969a : 534).

Beer Bottles

Possibly five beer bottles are represented by fragments found mainly in the commandant's quarters but also in the north, south and west palisade and ditch trenches.

One specimen (Fig. 17) is a pint-sized lager-shaped beer bottle of glossy green (5GY) glass. It has been mouth-blown in a mould and hand-finished. Marks on the base indicate that a base plate may have been inserted in the mould.

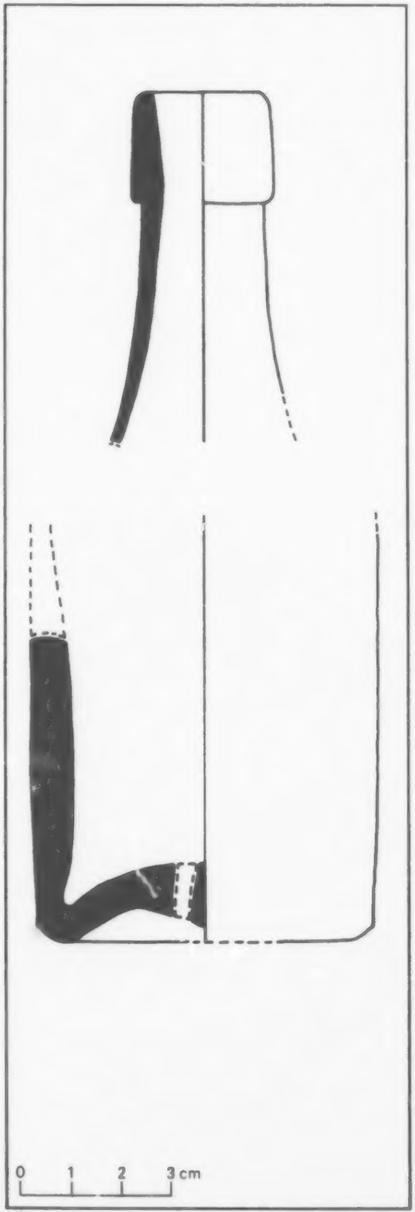
The body, extant to a height of 87 mm., and the base are 67 mm. in diameter. The lower portion of the body is dotted with an orange-peel texture. No vertical mould lines are present on the body fragments ; however, there are two horizontal ones in the basal area. One encircles the body-base junction, the other encircles the basal cavity. Embossed rather crudely within the basal cavity is a number "53..." or "63..." placed in an arc over an embossed, inverted tear drop. The number may refer to the mould number while the tear drop could be the symbol of the company which made or used the bottle. The neck, extant to a height of 72 mm., is tapered with a slightly concave profile. It is vertically striated and is bisected by two vertical mould lines which end under the finish. Its diameter at this point is 25 mm. while 35 mm. lower it is 34 mm. The finish consists of only a flat lip 21 mm. high and 28 mm. in diameter. It has been well formed by a finishing tool. This is the type of finish commonly associated with swing-type closures, such as the Lightning stopper, which were being developed in the late 1870s and early 1880s (Putnam 1965 ; Lief 1965 : 15-16).

The bottling of beer became extremely popular after Louis Pasteur's invention of pasteurization and study of fermentation in the 1870s (Lief 1965 : 15). Since this bottle is handmade it is reasonable to place its date of manufacture in the period between the 1880s and the first quarter of the 20th century.

Three other beer bottles may be represented by several turn-moulded fragments in green glass. All have cylindrical bodies and elongated shoulders indicative of the lager shape. It is by their shape and green colour (5GY) that one would suppose them to be beer bottles.

At least one machine-made beer bottle is represented by four amber (7.5YR) fragments. It is a modern bottle, the type having a rounded shoulder and cylindrical body with a very short neck.

17 Neck and body of a hand finished lager shaped beer bottle (1E3C5-4)



17

Soda Bottles

Soda bottles or soft drink bottles number at least four represented by fragments found in the northeast bastion, the north palisade and ditch trenches and the proposed barracks.

At least one example of a mineral or soda water bottle is present. This specimen (Fig. 18) consists of five neck, shoulder and body fragments in a typical pale aqua (7.5G) glass. The bottle has been blown in a mould but it is difficult to say whether by mouth or machine. The neck is striated and flows into an elongated shoulder. The cylindrical body has been embossed by means of a removable letterplate which fits into the body of the mould (Fig. 14). The lettering reads: AMHERST MIN[ERAL WATER COMPANY TAYLOR AND TENNANT, PROP.] (Vienneau 1969 : 23).

Taylor and Tennant were soda and mineral water manufacturers in Amherst, Nova Scotia, who operated from approximately 1902 to 1914 (Vienneau 1969 : 36). This bottle was thus manufactured between these dates, possibly in a Nova Scotian glasshouse such as the Humphreys Glassworks which was in operation at Trenton, Nova Scotia, at this time (Stevens 1967 : 62).

Two more fragments of pale aqua (2.5BG) glass may be from a soda water bottle. They are from a cylindrical bottle that has been blown in a mould either by mouth or machine.

A third bottle is machine-made of clear glass with fine, regular horizontal striations. The body is cylindrical and present to a height of 105 mm. The shoulder appears to be elongated, while the neck is cylindrical, flaring towards its base to join the shoulder. It has a crown finish with a lip 26 mm. in diameter and a string rim 28 mm. in diameter. Horizontal mould lines encircle the inside edge of the lip and the neck 2 mm. below the finish. Vertical mould lines bisect the bottle. Since this bottle has been machine-made, its date of manufacture falls somewhere after 1903.

Another machine-made bottle is represented by a crown finish. The glass is clear and has a finely striated texture indicative of its manufacture on a machine. Horizontal mould lines encircle the inside edge of the lip and the neck 2 mm. below the finish. Two vertical mould lines and their shadows bisect the neck. The lip is 26.5 mm. in diameter while the string rim is 28.5 mm. in diameter. Embossed on the string rim are the letters "HI" or "TH" if the fragment is inverted. It is not known what purpose these letters serve. The neck is bulged beginning at a point approximately 10 mm. below the finish.

Paneled Bottles

The only example of a paneled bottle from the site, a specimen which appears to be machine-made of pale blue-green (2.5BG) glass, was found in the large north palisade and ditch trench. The fragment is from a bottom corner of the body base and bears parts of two recessed panels separated by a chamfered corner. On one panel, reading down the bottle, are the neatly embossed letters ". . . TION" in an upper case, sans serifs face. A horizontal mould line separates the body from the base just above the resting point. Glass distribution in the base is very uneven, and no marks are present on the base. Paneled bottles date back to the 1850s (Rosewarne : pers. comm.); however, as this bottle appears to have been machine-made it was probably manufactured after 1903. The bottle was quite probably filled with Dr. Pierce's Favorite Prescription, a popular American remedy for a variety of "female complaints" introduced after the 1870s (Wilson & Wilson 1971 :70, 132) and still available in New Brunswick today.

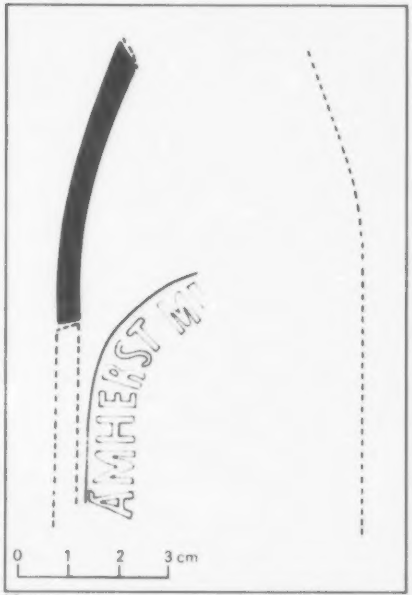
Miscellaneous Bases

There are five bases or base fragments belonging to this period which cannot be identified as to function.

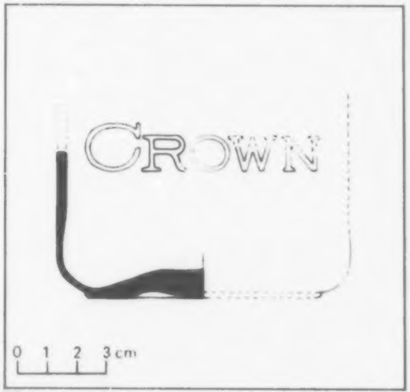
One fragment is from a pale green (2.5G) oval or possibly kidney-shaped bottle found in the area of the proposed barracks. It is difficult to say whether it was mouthblown or machine-made. A very faint vertical mould line extends down the body ending at the heel. A flat bearing surface encircles a flat basal depression. All of the edges on the fragment are rounded, possibly from being burned.

Another fragment from the small north palisade and ditch trench is from a second base of pale turquoise (5G) lightly bubbled glass. The base is circular, approximately 75 mm. in diameter. Again, it is difficult to determine whether it was mouthblown or machine-made. The texture of the glass would suggest machine manufacture.

18 Body fragment from an embossed soda water bottle (1E3P1-9).
19 Base and body fragment of a Crown fruit jar (1E4H1-5).



18



19

thus dating it after 1903. At the centre of the concave basal surface is a symbol or trademark composed of five embossed dots forming an X. A horizontal mould line separates the body from the base.

The last three bases are all machine-made and all therefore were manufactured after 1903. They each have a similar set of mould lines: vertical down the body, horizontal around the base-body junction and circular inside the bearing surface.

The first of these is a heavy amber (7.5YR) base, 66 mm. in diameter, from the northeast bastion. The basal surface is depressed but slightly convex. At its centre is a very faint series of concentric circles, the largest of which is 21 mm. in diameter. Encircling this is an additional mould line 38 mm. in diameter, formed most likely by a base plate.

The second base, from the southwest bastion, is green (7.5GY) and 81 mm. in diameter. The basal surface is depressed, becoming slightly convex at its centre. This base is plain and exhibits no embossed trademark.

The last base, also from the southwest bastion, is represented by a body base fragment of clear glass. It is either from a narrow cylindrical bottle or a flask with rounded ends. Enough of the basal surface is present to show a flat resting point encircling a concave depression.

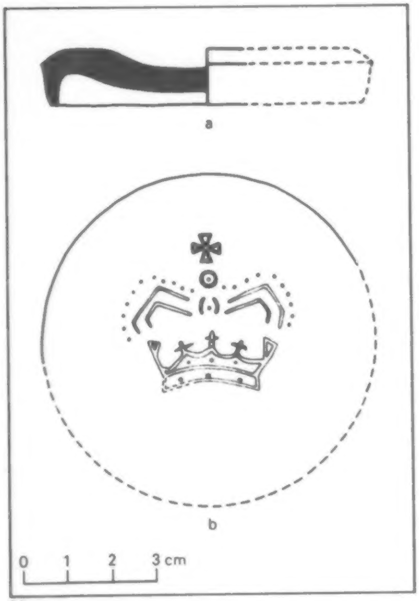
Food Storage Containers

There are at least three and possibly four different types of food storage containers recovered from the site. They include a Crown fruit jar and lid, a jelly jar and two modern clear glass jars with continuous thread finishes.

Crown fruit jars are uniquely Canadian (Toulouse 1969a : 74) and were manufactured at several glasshouses in Canada. There are over 60 variations of the crown emblem which appears on the body of the jar and the lid (Bird, Bird and Corke 1971 : 24-35).

The Crown fruit jar from Fort Gaspereau was found in the commandant's quarters (Fig. 19). It consists of a base and 11 body fragments of shiny pale green (2.5G) glass mouthblown in a mould. Its body is cylindrical and 101 mm. in diameter with an extant height of 75 mm. Embossed on the body 40 mm. above the base is the word "CROWN" in upper case letters with serifs. The crown emblem is represented on only two small fragments although enough is present to distinguish its rounded shape. The heel, wide and rounded, joins a footed base which is 79 mm. in diameter. From the outside edge of the bearing surface an uneven, vertical mould line extends up the body. Within the bearing surface is a convex depression 1 mm. to 2 mm. in height and 50 mm. in diameter, bearing a large embossed "B" and its faint second impression caused when the still malleable glass was centred in the mould (Toulouse 1969a : 537).

20 Outer seal Crown fruit jar lid.
a face view and profile.
b top view looking through glass at embossed emblem (1E3B1-9).



20

The end manufacturing date of this jar probably lies between the years 1897 and 1906, the period of transition from mouthblowing to the full use of automatic machinery for jars (Bird, Bird and Corke 1971 : 9). It could date as early as 1867 when the first Crown jars are believed to have been made at the Hamilton Glass Works (Bird, Bird and Corke 1971 : 24). A possibility exists, however, that the B on the base of the jar signifies the Burlington Glass Works, a company that made Crown jars and which was in operation from 1875 to 1909 (Stevens 1967 : xiv).

Figure 20 illustrates a pressed glass, outer seal fruit jar lid of pale turquoise (7.5BG) glass also found in the commandant's quarters. It may represent a second jar or may have been used on the jar just described. Lids were easily separated from their original jars and subsequently were used and possibly discarded, as this one was, with other jars.

The top of the lid, 72 mm. in diameter, is concave to a depth of 5 mm. so that its inner surface extends slightly down inside the mouth of the jar (Fig. 20,*a*). The inner surface bears an embossed angular crown emblem known as a "ring" type (Bird, Bird and Corke 1971 : 26). The outer rim of the lid has a downward projection designed to fit over the lip and come to rest on a bead or ring on the neck of the jar. Horizontal mould lines mark the inner edge of the rim and the junction between the rim and the top of the lid.

This style of crown emblem was manufactured by the North American Glass Company, the Diamond Glass Company and the Diamond Flint Glass Company (Bird, Bird and Corke 1971 :27). Their combined operations cover the years from 1883 to 1913.

The second type of storage container, a jelly jar, is represented by three fragments from the east palisade trench. The jar is circular in cross-section with a body tapering toward the base. It has a Phoenix finish designed to take a metal lid. This finish consists of a plain lip, in this case 5 mm. high and approximately 65 mm. in diameter, with a flat projection of glass below it 10 mm. high and approximately 70 mm. in diameter. "Chill wrinkles," or ripples, appear on the body just above the base, indicating the jar was pressed (Rose 1964 :11-12). The bearing surface is flat and shows signs of re-use. It encircles a shallow, concave basal depression 3 mm. high. Mould lines encircle the inside edge of the lip, the lower edge of the finish and possibly the outer edge of the basal depression.

The earliest date of manufacture of this jar is 1892 when the Phoenix closure was invented (Lief 1965 :20). A similar jar appears in the Dominion Glass Company's *Packers' Glassware Catalogue No. 11a* (p. 48) publishe sometime after 1913 when the Dominion Glass Company was incorporated. Since the fragments have a purple tint from the use of manganese as a decolourizer, the jar must have been manufactured before the end of World War I (Toulouse 1969a :534).

Two modern, machine-made jars of clear glass are represented by fragments from the south and west palisade and ditch trenches. The fragments from the west trench have been badly burned; however, an embossed triangle enclosing a figure is visible on the fragment. This may be the Consumers Glass trademark which was not used until 1917 (Stevens 1967: 54). Fragments from the south trench include part of the jar finish; a lug finish which is a variation of the continuous thread finish. This jar was probably manufactured after 1924 when finish sizes were finally standardized (Lief 1965:27).

Tumblers

One of three non-lead glass tumblers recovered is pressed clear glass with a yellowish tint. It was found in the area of the commandant's quarters. The body is circular in cross-section, with a diameter of 78 mm. at the lip, tapering to 60 mm. at the base and an over-all height of 98 mm. The lower part of the body is encircled by a band of 18 rectangular indentations which are 25 mm. high and approximately 10 mm. wide. The basal surface consists of a flat indentation 3 mm. high and 47 mm. in diameter. A circular mould line similar to a blank mould line appears off-centre on the basal surface.

The yellowish tint in the tumbler could be due to the presence of selenium in the glass. Selenium was used as a decolourizer in place of manganese after World War I (Toulouse 1969a:534). Tumblers similar to the above appear in the Butler Brothers' *Catalog No. 2233* (n.p.) from the year 1925 and the Dominion Glass Company's *Packers' Glassware Catalogue No. 11b* (p. 71).

The second clear glass tumbler is from the southwest bastion. It has been pressed but has been neatly fire-polished so the exterior surface is very shiny and smooth. The tumbler is circular in cross-section with a pattern of alternating concave panels approximately 15 mm. wide and mitres 6 mm. wide. The design does not continue for the full length of the tumbler. Attributing a specific date in this case is difficult; however, the tumbler is most likely of modern manufacture.

The third tumbler, also of clear glass, is represented by a rim fragment from the proposed barracks. The lip is approximately 65 mm. in diameter and has been fire-polished. The body appears to have a cylindrical shape. Once again it is difficult to date such a tumbler but it is most likely representative of the 20th century.

Unidentified Artifacts

This chapter deals with those objects which cannot be positively identified as to function or body form due to their fragmentary condition.

Flat-Sided Vessels

Ten flat body fragments varying in colour from green to olive green (5GY-10Y) were recovered from the commandant's quarters, the southeast bastion and the *magasin des vivres*. At least five different vessels are represented. One group of green (5GY) fragments is much more heavily patinated and more densely bubbled than the others. Three other fragments have the beginning of a rounded corner. These fragments could easily represent case or gin bottles, popular in England in the 18th century (Noël Hume 1961 : 106).

Another flat-sided bottle is represented by six green (10GY) fragments from the *magasin des vivres* and the commandant's quarters. The bottle was mouthblown in a mould resulting in a square or rectangular body with slightly concave chamfered corners approximately 12 mm. wide. The glass is unpatinated, seed-bubbled and quite thin. Nothing can be said at time of writing regarding its function, country of origin or time of manufacture.

Bottles

The first of two bottles is represented by a finish fragment of decomposed, very densely bubbled olive green (10Y) glass from the commandant's quarters. The lip has been cracked off and the string rim applied so close to the top of the lip that the lip height cannot be measured. The string rim is generally rounded with some excess glass below it indicating that it was roughly tooled. It has an approximate diameter of 30 mm. and varies in height from 4 mm. to 9 mm. Bubbles in the neck are elongated and slant upward to the left.

This finish does not correspond to the French or English styles discussed earlier but on the basis of its style and manufacturing technique, the fragment probably belongs to a bottle manufactured in the 18th century.

The second bottle is represented by a base fragment from the northeast bastion of light green (10GY) glass that is densely seed-bubbled. As only a small portion of the base is present, its shape cannot be determined. It is, however, pushed up and bears the remains of a glass-tipped pontil. The glass is similar to that attributed to French manufacture of the 18th century; however, little else can be said about it. Since a pontil mark is present, the bottle was probably manufactured before the 1850s.

Clear Glass Vessels

The first vessel, possibly a small tumbler, is represented by a rim fragment found in the northeast bastion. The shiny, non-lead glass has a yellowish tint and is filled with horizontally oriented seed bubbles. The lip has been fire-polished and is approximately 70 mm. in diameter. As this fragment is made of non-lead glass it could possibly relate to the French period of occupation of the fort.

Among all the clear glass fragments found at the site, only five small fragments were of lead glass. They include a small rim fragment with a fire-polished lip and a fragment that may be from the base of a stemware bowl. Unfortunately the fragments are too small to be of any value in determining their vessel shapes. It may be significant that they were all recovered from the commandant's quarters. If they relate to the periods of European occupation they are most likely from vessels of English manufacture as the French produced no lead glass until late in the 18th century (Scoville 1968 : 44).

Conclusions and Discussion

The glassware from Fort Gaspereau accurately reflects its mid-18th-century European occupation but the fragmentary condition of the artifacts and their relatively small numbers render the site less helpful than had been hoped as an aid in the interpretation of other sites. In addition, ploughing at the fort site in the 1930s caused the dispersion of period artifacts throughout the turf and occupation layers. Nevertheless, the author feels that the blue-green glass bottles and "flower-pot" shaped bottles are of French manufacture and therefore concludes that these bottles represent types which one can expect to find on other French colonial sites in Canada and the United States. These bottles are also concrete examples of the two glassmaking traditions in France during the 18th century: the production of common blue-green glass from wood-fired furnaces and darker olive green from coal-fired furnaces. A third type of glass owes its presence on the site to the French but is not necessarily of French manufacture. The clear non-lead glass pattern-moulded tumblers described previously would have been brought to Fort Gaspereau by the French and, as fragments of these tumblers are present in significant numbers in the southwest bastion as well as the commandant's quarters it would seem that they were used by the enlisted men as well as the French officers.

The dearth of glass artifacts from the proposed barracks and the proposed British officers' quarters seems to indicate these buildings were never constructed. Since the concentration of both French and English glass occurs in and around the commandant's quarters and the northeast and southwest bastions it would appear as though the English officers used existing buildings during their residence at Fort Gaspereau. This would seem to be a practical solution since they occupied the fort for only a year before destroying it. To further support this idea, burned glass resulting from the destruction of the fort is in evidence in over 70 excavation units with the greatest concentrations being in two adjacent units within the commandant's quarters. Most of the fragments were too burned to be identified, but a few bottle fragments of English manufacture could be recognized.

Use of the fort site after the middle of the 19th century is also indicated by the recovery of glassware from this period. It too was found in both layers, a result of ploughing, but to a much lesser degree in the occupation layer.

The presence of burned 20th-century glass in the west palisade and ditch trench probably indicates the use of the site as a picnic area in this century.

References Cited

Barrelet, James
1953
La verrerie en France de l'époque Gallo-Romaine à nos jours. Librairie Larousse, Paris.

Bird, D., Bird M. and C. Corke
1971
A Century of Antique Canadian Glass Fruit Jars. Douglas Bird, London, Ont.

Brown, Margaret Kimball
1971
"Glass from Fort Michilimackinac: A Classification for Eighteenth Century Glass." *The Michigan Archaeologist*, Vol. 17, No. 3-4 (Sept.-Dec.). Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Butler Brothers
1968
Mid Winter Catalog of 1925, No. 2233. Antiques Research Publications, Tennessee. Unpaginated.

Charleston, R. J.
1952
"French Glass of the 17th and 18th Centuries." *Glass Notes*, No. 12 (Dec.), pp. 14-19. Arthur Churchill, Ltd., London.

Davis, Pearce
1949
The Development of the American Glass Industry. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. Harvard Economic Studies, Vol. 86.

Diderot and D'Alembert
1772
"Verrerie en bouteilles chauffée en charbon de terre." *Recueil de planches sur les sciences, les arts libéraux et les arts mécaniques, avec leur explication*, Planches, Vol. 10. Briasson, Paris.

Dominion Glass Company
n.d.a.
Packers' Glassware Catalogue No. 11. Dominion Glass Co., Montreal. (Owned by G. P. Cole and personally dated March 10th, 1915.)
n.d.b.
Packers' Glassware Catalogue No. 11. Dominion Glass Co., Montreal. (Internal evidence suggests this catalogue has a later date than the above.)
n.d.c.
Bottlers' Glassware Catalogue No. 13. Dominion Glass Co., Montreal.

Elville, E. M.
1951
English Tableglass. Country Life, London.
1961
The Collector's Dictionary of Glass. Country Life, London.

Haynes, E. Barrington
1959
Glass Through the Ages. Penguin Books, London.

Hunter, Frederick W.
1950
Stiegel Glass. General Publishing Co., Don Mills, Ont.

Ingram, George C.
1963
Fort Gaspereaux or Fort Monckton, N.B. Unpubl. MS. National Historic Sites Service, Ottawa.

Jones, Olive R.
1970
"Glassware Excavated at Yuquot, B.C." *Manuscript Report Series*, No. 12. National Historic Sites Service, Ottawa.
1971
"Glass Bottle Push-Ups and Pontil Marks." *Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 5, pp. 62-73. Lansing, Michigan.

Kendrick, Grace
1968
The Mouth-Blown Bottle. Grace Kendrick, Fallon, Nev.

Larsen, Alfred, P. Riismøller and M. Schülter
1963
Dansk Glas; 1825-1925. Nyt Nordisk Forlag Arnold Busck, Copenhagen.

Lief, Alfred
1965
A Close-Up of Closures, History and Progress. Glass Container Manufacturers Institute, New York.

Marwitt, Renée
1966
Analysis of Wine Bottles from the Fortress of Louisbourg, N.S. Unpubl. MS., National Historic Sites Service, Ottawa. Unpaginated.

McKearin, George and H. McKearin
1948
American Glass. Crown Publishers, New York.

McNally, Paul
1971
"Table Glass Excavated at Fort Beausejour, N.B." *Manuscript Report Series*, No. 21. National Historic Sites Service, Ottawa.

Moser, Ludwig
1969
Badiches Glas; Seine Hütten and Werkstätten. Franz Steiner, Wiesbaden.

Noël Hume, Ivor
1961
"The Glass Wine Bottle in Colonial Virginia." *Journal of Glass Studies*, Vol. 3, pp. 90-117. Corning, N.Y.
1969
"Glass in Colonial Williamsburg's Archaeological Collections." *Colonial Williamsburg Archaeological Series*, No. 1. Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, Va.
1970
A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

Price, Rees
1908
"Notes on the Evolution of the Wine Bottle." *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*, Vol. 6 (n.s.), Pt. 1, pp. 116-25. Glasgow.

Putnam, H. E.
1965
Bottle Identification. H. E. Putnam, Jamestown, Calif. Partly paginated.

Rick, John H.
1970
"Archaeological Investigations of the National Historic Sites Service, 1962-1966." *Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History*, No. 1. Ottawa.

Rose, James H.
1964
The Story of American Pressed Glass of the Lacy Period, 1825 to 1850. The Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, N.Y.

Scoville, Warren C.
1948
Revolution in Glassmaking; Entrepreneurship and Technological Change in the American Industry; 1880-1920. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
1968
"Capitalism and French Glassmaking, 1640-1789." Johnson Reprint Corp., N.Y., 1968 reprint of 1950 ed. in *University of California Publications in Economics*, Vol. 15 (Jan.). University of California Press, Berkeley.

Stevens, Gerald
1967
Canadian Glass c. 1825-1925. The Ryerson Press. Toronto.

Thorpe, W. A.
1969
A History of English and Irish Glass. Holland Press. London. Facs. of 1924 edition.

Toulouse, Julian
1969a
Fruit Jars. Thomas Nelson & Sons, Don Mills, Ont.
1969b
"A Primer on Mold Seams." *The Western Collector.* Vol. 7, No. 11 (Nov.), Pt. 1, pp. 526-35. San Francisco.

Vienneau, Azor
1969
The Bottle Collector. Petheric Press, Halifax, N.S.

Whitall, Tatum and Co.
1887
Annual Price List. Whitall, Tatum and Co., Philadelphia.

Wilson, W. L. and B. Wilson
1971
19th Century Medicine in Glass. 19th Century Hobby & Publishing Company, Amador City, California.

Wyatt, Victor
1966
From Sand-Core to Automation: A History of Glass Containers. Glass Manufacturers' Federation, London.

National Historic Parks and Sites Branch,
Ottawa

Commissioners of the Yukon, 1897-1918

by Edward F. Bush

Abstract

After a brief description of the opening of the Yukon Territory and the institution of territorial government, the tenures in office and characters of each of the commissioners or chief executives are traced in turn against the background of the politics and social life of the period. The abolition of the office of commissioner and re-organization of the territorial government in March 1918 is followed by a sketch of post-1918 Yukon history up to the time of the transferral of the territorial capital from Dawson to Whitehorse in 1954. An appendix lists the names of the commissioners and succeeding chief executives from 1897 to 1966.

The Last Frontier

Although Sir John Franklin explored the Arctic coast bordering the Beaufort Sea in 1825, the first white man to investigate the remote and rugged territory of the Yukon was John MacLeod who, in 1834, followed the Liard River into the southern Yukon. Another early explorer to penetrate to the interior of this area was Robert Campbell: in the years 1842-48, he travelled the Yukon downstream to its confluence with the Porcupine where later (1847) the Hudson's Bay Company built a trading post, Fort Yukon.

For a time the fur trade dominated the scene. The territory at this period was a part of the vast domains of the Hudson's Bay Company, which by this time controlled much of the hinterland of British North America. Fur rather than gold was the staple product of the region at mid-century, although as early as 1853 Robert Campbell knew that there was gold to be found along the Yukon and Pelly rivers. The discovery of gold was to awaken the Yukon from its long sleep, and by the late nineties it would be a household word from Chancery Lane to the antipodes.

In 1870, with the celebrated transfer of the extensive Hudson's Bay Company holdings and the trade monopoly which included the Yukon, the territory became an adjunct of the uninhabited and partially explored North-West Territories, ranging from the head of the lakes to the Pacific slope and from the international boundary to the Arctic seas.

It was in the decade of the 1870s that the triumvirate of Al Mayo, Leroy Napoleon McQuesten and Arthur Harper, later joined by Joseph Ladue, established a chain of trading posts along the Yukon, generously grubstaking prospectors in their quest for gold. By 1866 some 200 miners had penetrated the territory via the Chilkoot Pass, fanning out to explore the many tributaries of the Yukon. Pierre Berton in his *Klondike: The Life and Death of the Last Great Gold Rush* asserts that without this chain of trading posts there could have been no gold-rush; that this practical and utilitarian preliminary was a basic requisite for the stampede which was to follow in little more than a decade.

The influx of prospectors, miners and camp followers by 1895 induced the Canadian government to take its first step to secure its sovereignty and to provide for the administration of what had so recently been a wilderness. In June of 1895, Inspector Constantine of the North-West Mounted Police was despatched to the Yukon with a detachment of 20 men to uphold Canadian sovereignty and maintain law and order in what was quickly becoming a rollicking mining camp, and to oversee and issue trading permits to the two commercial companies operating in the region,[1] the North American Transportation and Trading Company and the Alaska Commercial Company, both of which were American concerns. Constantine had to be a jack of all trades. He represented in his own person all the departments of government; as well he was dominion lands agent, collector of customs and chief and sole magistrate. So multifarious and onerous were the duties piled on him that he could no longer attend to them and act effectively in command of the North-West Mounted Police detachment. On Constantine's urgent entreaty, Thomas Fawcett was despatched to the territory to take over the increasingly demanding duties of lands and mines administration, arriving at Dawson on 15 June 1897.

With the influx Canada could afford to waste no time in asserting her sovereignty over the territory, so soon to dominate the headlines throughout the world. In 1895, a surveyor of high repute, William Ogilvie, destined to become the territory's second commissioner, was sent by federal authority to complete his survey of the 141st meridian from where he had left off in 1888. This was the line agreed on to constitute the international boundary on the west.[2] It was as well that this precaution was taken, for it readily became apparent that many of the newcomers fancied that the Klondike lay in American territory, a fallacy which newspapers on the "outside" perpetuated by referring to the riches of the Klondike as "Alaskan gold."

Almost a year to the day from the great strike, by proclamation dated 16 August 1897, the Yukon was constituted a district of the North-West Territories, reflecting no doubt the feverish development already in train. The year previously Dawson, on the right bank of the Yukon River at the confluence of the Klondike, consisted of a store and trading post with attached shanty established by Joseph Ladue. With the then current population, estimated at 5,000 expected to treble by the next season, the Canadian government thought it well to appoint a chief executive officer with the title of commissioner, vested with full authority over all government officials (except the judge of the Supreme Court of the North-West Territories) and the North-West Mounted Police.[3] The commissioner was to be appointed by Governor in Council, and was to be assisted by a six-member appointive council. His powers were extensive: although his administration was subject to the Governor in Council or the Minister of the Interior, the commissioner held authority over all federal officials in the territory (with the exception of the chief justice), "with power to remove, suspend or supersede any official, pending the action of the Minister under whose Department such official is employed." Continuing, "He should also be placed in full command of the North-West Mounted Police Force, and the officers of the Force should receive their instructions from him and obey any orders that may be issued by him."[4] These recommendations were contained in a report of a committee of the Privy Council, approved 17 August 1897 by the Governor General.

The commissioner's executive authority was shared with the council, and comprised such functions as direct taxation, establishment of a territorial civil service, administration of prisons and municipal institutions, licensing of shops and saloons (of which there were to be many in Dawson), solemnization of marriage, property and civil rights, administration of justice, education and the expenditure of appropriations.[5] Representative government was not considered at the outset both because of the very recent organization of the territory and the largely alien population which had flocked thereto. The lack of democratic process was, however, to become a contentious and highly-charged issue within a very few years.

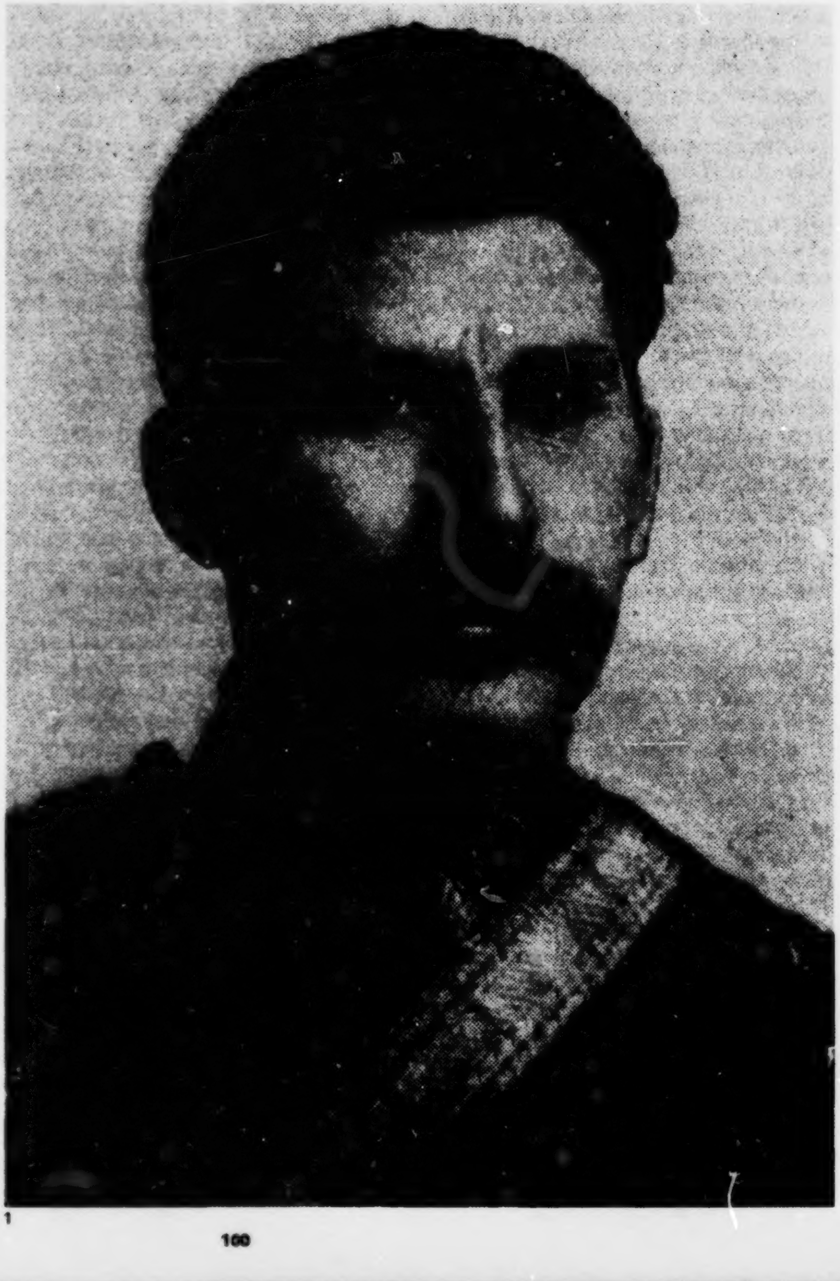
James Morrow Walsh

The choice of the select committee of the Privy Council for the Yukon's first commissioner[6] fell on James Morrow Walsh, a 56-year-old, ramrod-straight veteran of the renowned North-West Mounted Police, who had first won fame in his skilled and courageous handling of the Sitting Bull incursion in 1876, taking the surrender of the fugitive warrior and 3,000 of his followers. Born in 1841, in Prescott, an attractive little town on the upper St. Lawrence in what was then known as Canada West, the son of Lewis Walsh and Elizabeth Morrow Walsh, James was raised in the Presbyterian persuasion. First having seen active service at the time of the Fenian raids, Walsh was well-equipped for a position of high responsibility with the newly created semi-military mounted constabulary, taking charge of the critical Cyprus and Wood Mountain district near the international boundary. In 1879 he was credited with preventing Sitting Bull from attacking General Miles by means of a daring sortie across the boundary. A strikingly handsome man of military bearing with a good head of hair and luxuriant moustache, 1 James Morrow Walsh. (*Public Archives of Canada.*)

Walsh did not belie the confidence reposed in him in taking charge of a territory which gave every indication of following the lawless way of the American West. Already by 1897, last year's general store and shanty had mushroomed into a sprawling tent and shanty town of 5,000 souls, and this was just the beginning.

Walsh had resigned from the force in 1883 to enter business, but rejoined its ranks in 1897 and was appointed superintendent of police and commissioner of the Yukon Judicial District the first of seven to hold that office in the course of the next 11 years. Curiously enough, Walsh's commission, approved by the Governor General on 17 August 1897 (one year to the day from Carmack's sensational strike in the Klondike) mis-quoted his Christian name:

The undersigned [Committee of the Privy Council] *would therefore recommend that John* [sic] *M. Walsh of the town of Brockville, province of Ontario, be appointed Chief Executive Officer of the Government in the Yukon Territory, and that he shall be known as the Commissioner of the Yukon Territory...his appointment shall take effect from and after the 15th day of August, 1897, and he shall receive a salary at the rate of $5,000 per annum.*[7] (Walsh was also to be saddled with the supervision of customs and of the mail service, which with the influx of humanity in the summer of 1898 was rendered well nigh chaotic.) A few months later, 13 December 1897, Thomas Fawcett, the recently appointed gold commissioner, reported



1

the non-existence of any municipal organization and the dreaded appearance of typhoid in the camp with the dire likelihood of an epidemic the following summer.[8] Ogilvie, the future Yukon commissioner, reported that gold-dust at $17 per troy ounce was the accepted medium of exchange and that what little currency there was in circulation was for the most part American.[9] With the territory and its booming capital (if such it could be termed at this date) in this parlous condition, its first commissioner, Major Walsh, though he departed Ottawa vested with full authority on 23 September 1897, was fated to reach his destination only by 21 May the following spring. Walsh spent but a few months in that frenetic summer of 1898 in Dawson, but it was sufficient to make his mark.

Led by Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, the official party received much publicity along the route. It included Justice McGuire of the Supreme Court, F. C. Wade to act as crown prosecutor (presumably he would not be idle), Captain H. A. Bliss, accountant, mines inspectors Captain H. H. Norwood and J. D. McGregory, Dufferin Pattullo, Walsh's private secretary, and Philip Walsh in charge of Indians and transport. Accompanying the party as far as Dyea at the head of the Lynn Canal, whence the party would proceed to the interior via the Chilkoot Pass, were William Ogilvie, serving at the time as astronomer and surveyor; W. F. King, chief astronomer; G. R. Maxwell, M.P. for Vancouver; A. J. Magurn, a correspondent for the Toronto *Globe;* Reverend R. M. Dickie (founder of the Presbyterian Church at Lake Bennett); D. Stewart of Vancouver, and one Dr. Carruthers of Edinburgh. The expedition, for so it must be termed, was given a tumultuous welcome on de-training at Vancouver on 1 October.

The following day, the expedition set forth from Vancouver aboard the *Quadra* for the passage up the coast.[10] The *Quadra*, 265 tons net register, a 175-foot, steel-hulled, schooner-rigged vessel, was well-laden on the rainy voyage north. Seventy-eight sled dogs, 25 sleds, four months' rations for 60 men plus 6 weeks' rations for 8 men, a full complement of Winchester carbines and Enfield revolvers, two Gatling guns and 5,000 rounds of ammunition filled the holds. The inadequate cabin accommodation and the inclemency of the weather must have made the ship's arrival at Skagway on 8 October after six days in passage a welcome event. The expedition had anticipated that sufficient provisions had been packed over the pass to enable it to proceed at once to Dawson; this, however, had not been done.[11]

The party found very little in the way of reliable information on the condition of the White and the Chilkoot passes, and so they reconnoitered both, ascending the Chilkoot and returning via the White to Skagway.

The Skagway trail is all that it has been described to be, such a scene of havoc and destruction as we encountered through the whole length of the White Pass can scarcely be imagined. Thousands of pack horses lay dead along the way, sometimes in bunches under the cliff with pack saddles and packs where they had fallen from the rocks above, sometimes in a tangled mass, filling the mudholes and furnishing the only footing for our poor pack animals on the march – often, I regret to say, exhausted but still alive, a fact that we were unaware of until after the miserable wretches turned beneath the hoofs of our cavalcade. The eyeless sockets of the pack animals everywhere accounted for the myriad of ravens all along the road. The inhumanity which this trail has been witness to, the heart-breaking sufferings which so many have undergone, cannot be imagined. They certainly cannot be described.[12]

Returning to their base at Skagway on 19 October 1897, Walsh found that most of their supplies had been packed over the passes. He therefore despatched an advance party to Dawson the same day and a second five days later. Before leaving Skagway, Walsh appointed Captain Z. T. Wood of the North-West Mounted Police commandant of the whole region from the international boundary on the south at the 60th parallel to Fort Selkirk at the juncture of the Pelly and Yukon rivers in the north.

Setting forth himself for Dawson, Walsh reached the summit of the Chilkoot Pass, 3,498 feet above sea level, on 28 October, arriving at Lake Lindemann that evening soaked to the skin through the fording of streams en route. On 2 November, perilously late in the season, Walsh set off down the river from Bennett. By 13 November the thermometer had dropped to 8 degrees below zero Fahrenheit: the sun, Walsh recorded, appeared over the mountains about ten in the morning to disappear shortly after three in mid-afternoon. Ice cakes of ever increasing

2 Commissioner Walsh and staff, 1898. Left to right: Capt. Bliss, T. D. Pattullo, Comm. Walsh, F. C. Wade, J. D. MacGregor, Capt. Norwood. (*Public Archives of Canada.*)

2

size and menace appeared in the river. On 17 November, at a point a dozen miles beyond the confluence of the Big Salmon, collision with an ice jam resulted in the drowning of one man and the loss of more than a ton of provisions. The nearest point of supply, Fort Sifton (Tagish) lay 176 miles distant.[13]

The condition of the river and the depleted state of their supplies decided Walsh to winter on the banks of the Yukon. Walsh's party included his brother Philip, Bliss, Pattullo, and two Indians. By November 30 the mercury had plunged to 58 below zero! The rest of the expedition was strung out at various points along the Yukon. Rations were short, but depots and shelters were set up at intervals along the river.

His failure to reach Dawson by freeze-up was, of course, a disappointment to Walsh, but the enforced delay was not wasted.

Situated half way between Dawson and Dyea I have been in a position to meet daily large numbers of the people coming over the trail from the gold districts, to ascertain from them the causes of the famine, the conditions of the people, the difficulties of transportation as affecting the food question, and their opinion upon all questions affecting mines and mining and as to the nature of the regulations which would prove most satisfactory and at the same time effective.[14]

Walsh concluded that the prime essential on the Klondike was an adequate food supply; there would always be the foolhardy ones who would set out with inadequate supplies and short rations on the off-chance of striking it rich in the gold-fields. Police posts should be established at 35-mile intervals along the Yukon, each staffed by four or five constables; each post was to be supplied with a good boat, three tents, a double set of cooking and heating utensils, a dozen axes, a half-dozen shovels and some fish nets. Once these posts were established, the territory could be policed easily. A good mail service should receive immediate attention. First aid would be available at the posts.

In the light of subsequent events, Walsh's recommendations concerning the policing of the territory are of primary interest.

I would also recommend that the men required for service in this country be not drawn from the North-West Mounted Police force. I find them unsuitable for the work that is to be done. They are neither boatmen, axemen, nor are they accustomed to winter bush life, three of the first qualifications for service here.[15]

Rather, experienced bushmen and rivermen, for example from the Ottawa valley region, should be recruited, be given a little police training and placed under the command of a young and competent Nort-West Mounted Police officer, with his subordinates drawn from the ranks of the militia. Walsh's discounting of the Mounted Police, considering his long experience on the Great Plains with the force and its subsequent magnificent record in the Yukon Territory, is indeed a curious phenomenon, for it was not as if the commissioner were unfamiliar with the force. It goes without saying that the excellent name earned by the police on the Plains, albeit to suffer a temporary eclipse in the course of the Northwest Rebellion, was amply confirmed in the Yukon; but one commissioner had nothing but the highest praise for the force which made of the explosive Klondike a model mining camp, without precedent for the absence, relatively speaking, of serious crime. Perhaps Walsh revised his opinion of the scarlet-coated force before his death some seven years after leaving the Klondike.

It was Walsh who insisted that the police at Lake Bennett and Tagish ensure that every entrant to the territory carry with him a year's supply of food. This imposed a considerable burden on the stampeders, many of whom were city dwellers of sedentary occupation, unused to heavy manual exertion over sustained periods. But the regulation undoubtedly saved many from starvation. Those who could not meet the requirement were denied entry to the territory. As Walsh wrote in his report in the fall of 1897 while still on the trail himself: "Food is the first of all questions. It is the most important question with which the country has to deal,... There is no year since mining operations commenced here, that the country has had a full and sufficient supply of provisions."[16]

In the same report, Walsh pointed out the desirability of Canada gaining access to tidewater, a design that has been frustrated in the region. He foresaw that gold would be the principal product of the territory for some years to come – most of which would find its way to American coffers, for at the time of the gold-rush as many as four in five of the stampeders were American; and until the early years of the present century, Americans predominated in Dawson to such a degree that the Fourth of July took precedence over Dominion Day. Though Canada would take its toll of the gold production by means of a highly unpopular royalty, Walsh recommended that Canada secure the trade connected with the gold-rush. "If we lose the trade connected with the gold rush then we might better give up the whole territory rather than to shoulder the costs of government and development."[17]

Walsh finally arrived in Dawson on 21 May 1898: he was to stay in the burgeoning mining town close under the Arctic Circle less than three months. The commissioner had been criticized by some for his delay in reaching the Klondike, but a combination of circumstances had indeed conspired to hinder his progress or keep to any sort of schedule. His first action on arrival was to impose a royalty of 10 per cent on gold output, in order that Canada, within those boundaries the territory undoubtedly lay, should realize some return from the gold-fields. On the other hand, Walsh rejected the proposal that aliens (in those days non-British subjects) be banned from mining activity, as indeed they were in the United States. A much larger population than Canada could possibly supply would be needed for the full development of the vast territory. Walsh saw no objection to government officials staking claims but he would not countenance anyone in the public service speculating in claims. A sum was at once appropriated for the improvement of the trail between Dawson and the creeks tributary to the Klondike, where actual mining operations were being feverishly carried on in the 24-hour daylight as the full tidal wave of the stampede flooded the dusty streets of Dawson. He curtailed the importation of liquor into the territory (Walsh himself was an abstainer), but honoured all the liquor permits and saloon licences already issued. Sunday observance was enforced rigorously. He authorized a grant of $5,000 to St. Mary's Hospital, the only one in Dawson at the time, and granted a further $2,500 for the opening of a second hospital. At that time the Anglican was the only Protestant church open in Dawson: Walsh readily granted permission to the Presbyterians, Methodists, Greek Orthodox and Salvation Army to establish churches in the canvas and clapboard community whose largely itinerant population had swollen to something in the order of 25,000 making Dawson, it was said, the largest Canadian city west of Winnipeg. And he categorically denied charges of malfeasance being bandied about concerning the conduct of government officials.

Walsh's strong hand was resented by the lawless and shadier elements which were well represented in the Klondike. Ill-founded charges of peculation in high places were current, in which the commissioner became a prime target. Malicious gossip went so far as to couple the commissioner's name with that of an attractive young woman who had appealed to Walsh concerning a disputed claim in which she had an interest. Walsh assured the young woman that justice would be done, and her claim was upheld when the case finally came before Justice McGuire. Walsh insisted that on the several occasions he had called on the young lady, he had been accompanied by others, and that the occasional cigar and a glass of lemonade was the extent of his indulgence in her company.[18] It transpired that the woman in question was one of strong character who had withstood a good many temptations while in the rollicking and free-spending Eldorado of the north. Walsh considered it worth his time to write to Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, to clear himself of these slimy insinuations.

Berton, in his highly readable *Klondike: The Life and Death of the Last Great Gold Rush*, says that Walsh had the habit, on occasion, of commandeering police constables for purely personal chores, an undesirable practice taken up by other officials but not continued after Walsh's departure.[19]

But one and all who valued the establishment of the rule of law agreed that the commissioner's justice, though arbitrary, was speedy and summary. There were none too humble to gain the commissioner's ear. The *Dawson Daily News*, a paper published by two Americans and anything but well-disposed at that time to the territorial government, depicted Walsh some years later as a fair-minded autocrat who defended the weak against the strong, redressing grievances and wrongs with a promptitude and celerity not usually associated with bureaucracy. "We personally have knowledge of many appeals made to the major against arbitrary official acts which were remedied, not the same week, not the same day, but within the hour."[20] The editor went on to assert that on the whole Walsh's influence had been beneficial, and that had he remained, many of the evils which plagued the territory would have been rapidly set to rights.

Having arrived only in the spring, Walsh was fated to be recalled before the Yukon's brief summer had run its course. He departed Dawson on the evening of 4 August 1898 aboard the steamer *Willie Irving*, having been in the sub-Arctic city less than three months. From the subsequent charges laid by Sir Charles Tupper in the House of Commons on 31 May 1900,[21] it can only be concluded that he was recalled under a cloud because of rumours of misbehaviour in office which had reached the Minister. From subsequent correspondence with Sifton it is manifest that Walsh left the territory seething with resentment at the treatment he had received.

It is not the intent of this paper to attempt an appraisal of the first commissioner's relative degree of culpability or innocence concerning the charges laid. The debate on the Tupper motion is laid out in full in the House of Commons Debates, Session 1900, volume under date 31 May 1900. In brief, Tupper alleged that during his term of office, Major Walsh had used his subordinates to acquire mining claims for himself and his brother Philip, which constituted an abuse of his trust. Tupper's allegations, he made clear, were directed against the Laurier administration which had refused an inquiry, rather than against Walsh himself. Facetious innuendos were made by Tupper concerning Sifton's absence in Europe. Tupper's motion, when put to a vote, was defeated in the House by 74 to 38. In such manner, so far as party politics went, was Major Walsh vindicated. In an affidavit sworn out on 4 June five days later, Walsh categorically denied complicity in any of the charges raised in the House either as to the improper acquisition of mining property or misbehaviour with a Mrs. Koch, who figured in the allegations in connection with a disputed claim. Pierre Berton infers that the onerous nature of the office at the height of the gold-rush had been too much for Major Walsh. It appears both from the man's previous record and from his age at the time that he was not recalled because of over-strain, let alone at his own request, but because, whether culpable or not, the Laurier administration found his further retention in office an embarrassment. Malfeasance charges were frequent in the early days in the Yukon: Walsh's successor, a man of unimpeachable integrity, suffered from careless slander.

In writing to Sifton shortly after his return, Walsh defended his record in words which could almost have served for his epitaph

I entered the country and found it without supplies, not even sufficient for the few men stationed in it. I found men without clothing fit to stand the winter cold, and the post without knives and forks, plates or drinking cups, camp kettles, tents, stoves, shovels or any of the articles required... I permanently established law and order throughout the whole district and in defiance of 30,000 miners inforced the mining regulations and showed that royalty could be collected.

The government may not be satisfied with what has been done and the public may not, but I am, for I know that all was done that any man could do under similar circumstances, and my experience in this kind of work has been as great as any man's in Canada.[22]

Somehow this reads as from the pen of a man with a clear conscience.

James Walsh did not long survive a paralytic stroke, reported in the *Dawson Daily News* of 24 July 1905, for the following day he was dead at the by no means advanced age of sixty-four. His had beenan active life in the old Northwest, in which he won fame by his fearlessness, decision and good judgement in moments of crisis. It may be fairly assumed that his place in Canadian annals has not suffered as a result of his short-lived Yukon administration, for somehow the stature of the man rises above the tides of malice.

William Ogilvie

Yukon's second commissioner, a land surveyor of high repute, was born in Ottawa 7 April 1846, the son of James Ogilvie and Margaret Halliday Ogilvie. By 1869 at the age of 23, he had qualified as both a provincial and dominion land surveyor, an exacting profession which took him early to the vast and unmapped regions of the North-West Territories long before the strip of steel had spanned its southern reaches. The year 1876 saw the young surveyor working out of Winnipeg, where he carried out a survey of the Riding Mountains of Manitoba. The same year Ogilvie was reported as far afield as the Peace River district. In 1878 Ogilvie was sent to the Battleford region in order to locate some points of geographic interest. It was on this assignment that Ogilvie, then 32 years of age, acted as interpreter for a band of Sitting Bull's restless Sioux who had presented themselves in full array before lieutenant-governor David Laird of the North-West Territories. In his reminiscences dating from this time, Ogilvie wrote of the huge herds of buffalo that darkened the Plains, in one of which near Battleford he estimated at least 10,000 head.[23]

By 30 December 1878, Ogilvie had returned to Winnipeg. The winter of 1882-83 saw him back in the Peace River district, and the following year he completed a survey of the Peace and Athabaska rivers. In 1885 and 1886, when the stupendous enterprise of the Canadian Pacific, Canada's first transcontinental railway and the darling of the Macdonald government, was being pressed to an arduous conclusion, Ogilvie was to be found in the service of the CPR, surveying a stretch of that 2,700-mile line from Revelstoke in the heart of the Selkirk Range.

In 1887 Ogilvie first saw the Yukon: in that and the following year he carried out surveys on the Yukon River and through that remote and mountainous region between the Yukon and the Mackenzie rivers. In 1888 the intrepid surveyor was awarded the Murchison Gold Medal in recognition of his geological explorations. It was at about this time that the Americans named one of the highest mountains in the lofty Saint Elias Range of southeastern Alaska after him, "as a tribute to his worth and integrity in international dealings."[24] In 1890 Ogilvie returned briefly to eastern Canada in order to carry out a survey from Mattawa on the Upper Ottawa River to the East Main River, tributary to James Bay. The year 1891 saw him back in British Columbia, and in 1892 he was placed in charge of all surveys in the Prince Albert district. It is a measure of his growing reputation that he was appointed to serve on the International Boundary Commission in 1893 and 1894.

In the spring of 1895 Ogilvie returned to the Yukon, and from this date the most significant phase of his distinguished career began. He was commissioned to make all required surveys – town sites, mining claims, and mineral deposits. In the winter of 1895-96 he carried on a survey begun at an earlier date (1887-88) along the 141st meridian, designated as the international boundary on the west between the Yukon Territory and Alaska. A subsequent survey completed in 1908 by a joint Canadian-American party of the 141st meridian corresponded so closely to Ogilvie's, made with less precise instruments and under much more primitive conditions, that the discrepancy between Ogilvie's line and that established by the definitive survey was found to amount to only a few seconds of longitude.[25] The members of the subsequent international survey, with more elaborate and precise equipment, had high praise for the extraordinary accuracy achieved by William Ogilvie a dozen years before. It should be noted that much of this survey work was carried out in the depths of a sub-Arctic winter with the mercury dipping to 50 degrees and more below zero. Such was the timber of which William Ogilvie was built.

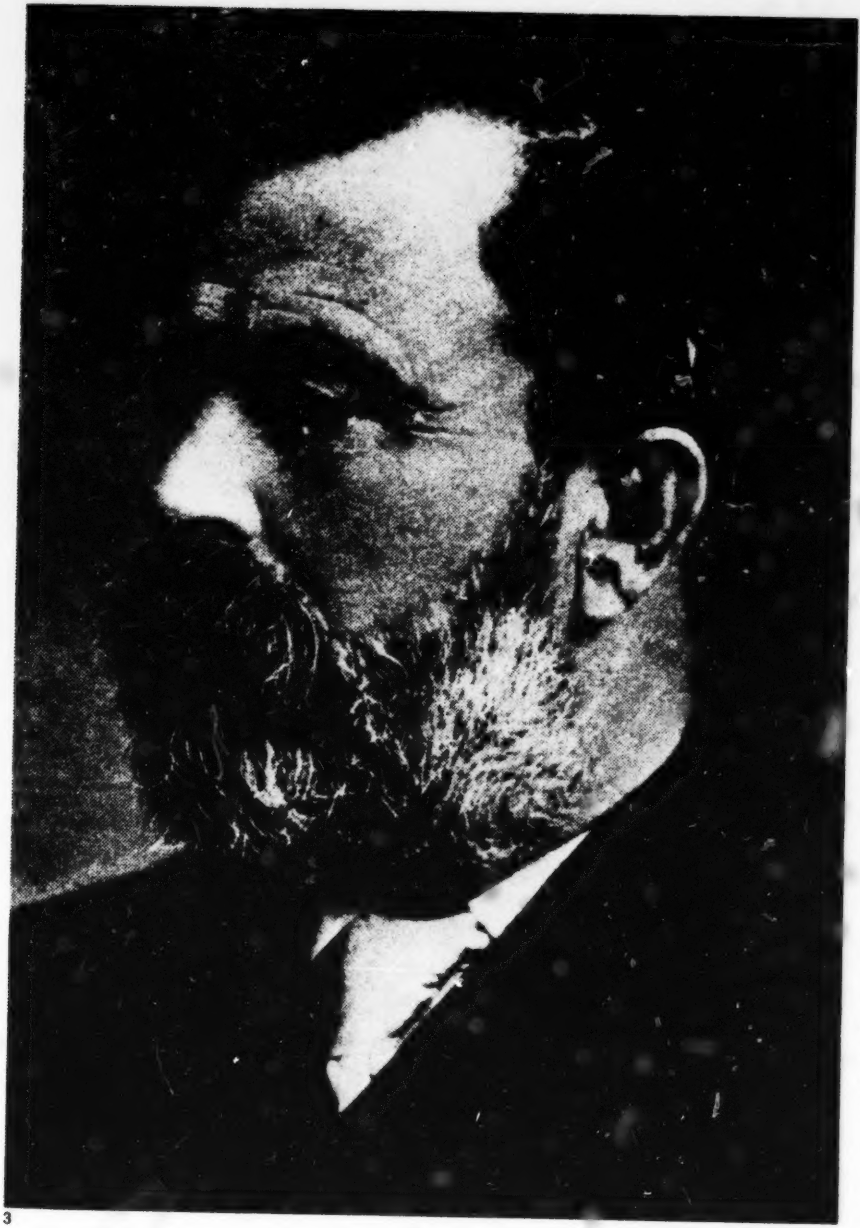
Ogilvie reported Carmack's strike to the Department of the Interior on 6 September 1896. Since that momentous day (17 August), he wrote, about 200 claims had been staked. Ogilvie was confident that the strike was no flash in the pan.

I cannot here enter into the reasons for it, but I unhesitatingly make the assertion that this corner of our territory from the coast strip down and from the 141st meridian eastward will be found to be a fairly rich and very extensive mining region.[26]

But at the outset the department was sceptical of Ogilvie's reports of mineral riches. Indeed when later serving as commissioner he was blamed by the miners for having excited the cupidity of the Canadian government, with the resultant imposition of the royalty. Ogilvie's estimates later were found to err very much on the low side. It was his fate to preside as chief executive over the destinies of the territory during the most hectic and frenetic period of the world's last great goldrush.

Ogilvie's enforced wintering in the Yukon in 1896-97 was seen by the Department of the Interior as highly forfuitous, for his presence "helped to prevent conflicts in the newly discov-

3 William Ogilvie. (*Public Archives of Canada.*)


3

ered gold fields."[27] This, as the experience of the past had shown in the American West, was only too probable a development. Claims were carelessly staked, claim jumping was rampant; and in any case, for want of accurate surveys, properties encroached on one another in inevitable fashion giving rise to disputes and frequently to violence. Ogilvie's imperturbable and impartial investigations did much to alleviate tensions and rectify errors.

In 1898 Ogilvie set out on a lecture tour of the British Isles to acquaint public opinion in the Mother Country with the extraordinary opportunities to be had in the wilds of Canada. Sifton's letter of introduction is indicative of the esteem in which Ogilvie was held.

> *This will introduce Mr. Wm. Ogilvie, D.L.S. who has been for many years past engaged in making explorations and in doing important scientific work for the Government of the Dominion of Canada in the North Western Territories. Mr. Ogilvie has devoted special attention to the Yukon District in which the very rich gold mines have been discovered during the last two years. Mr. Ogilvie is a man of the highest character and attainments, and is the author of the Official Guide to the Yukon and Klondike Districts lately issued under the direction of the Department of the Interior.*[28]

It is perhaps not surprising that such a man should be chosen as Walsh's successor as chief executive for the territory at a time when the demands upon the incumbent would be of the heaviest.

William Ogilvie's appointment took effect by Order in Council dated 5 July 1898. Ogilvie accordingly left Ottawa on the night of 2 August, stopping over first in Toronto, then in Rat Portage (later to be graced with the more melodious name of Kenora), and finally in Winnipeg before proceeding on to Vancouver along the single track of the CPR. He sailed from Vancouver northward bound aboard the steamer *Horsa* the evening of 20 August, reaching Skagway four days later. Ogilvie later wrote to Sifton that his vessel and that bearing Walsh southbound passed on the high seas somewhere in the vicinity of Wrangell on the scenic Alaskan coast. Hence Ogilvie did not receive Walsh's resignation as commissioner, and so considered his appointment in effect from the time he departed Vancouver.[29] Ogilvie, accompanied by 18 officials, arrived at the scene of his labours aboard the riverboat *Flora* at four in the afternoon of 5 September 1898.

All 18 messed together in a cabin next the commissioner's office; eight of them had perforce to sleep on the floor until bunks and sleeping accommodation became available. The commissioner's office was located in a building rented from the firm of Beaver & Lory shortly after his arrival, 19 September 1898, until the end of June the following year. The ground floor housed the commissioner's and comptroller's offices and their staff: the second storey provided Ogilvie with his living quarters, for three years were to pass before a commissioner's residence would be available. Even at that, the officials rented but half the building, the other half being given over to a hotel.

In light of the circumstances of the time, the very height of the stampede when revellers were turning night into day and paying for their drinks in golddust, the commissioner's complaint in his report of 20 September 1899 must be considered temperate.

> *This was, at that time, about the most commodious building in Dawson, with the exception of the two stores of the two trading companies. The other half of this house was occupied as a hotel, and the noise incidental to the keeping open of a hotel until all hours of the night – it may be said practically the whole day and night – was very uncomfortable and annoying to us in our work, because sounds could be heard through the board partitions, practically as if there had been no partitions.*[30]

But beginning in August 1899, a house in which he must have rested more quietly was rented for the commissioner for $250 per month from the Reverend Gendreau. Ogilvie mentioned that this rent was the most reasonable available in Dawson at the time. He needed the whole of his living allowance of $2,000 per annum, with meat at a dollar per pound and the best grades $1.25.

The new administration building would not be ready until November 1901, and so Ogilvie had to make do with primitive arrangements. In the latter part of his term Ogilvie lived in a house rented from the Reverend A. Desmerais at the same rent, $250 per month. In his estimates for the fiscal year ending 30 June 1900, Ogilvie bid for an increase in his living allowance from $2,000 to $3,000 per annum. He was required to do considerable entertaining, which at Dawson's inflated prices came to an expensive item. As an example, he cited a dinner he had given for 20 officers of the Yukon Field Force, an army unit posted to the territory to back up the North-West Mounted Police, for which the meat bill alone came to between 25 and $26, with the accompanying vegetables costing as much again and the latter limited in both quantity and variety.[31]

Ogilvie was not 24 hours in Dawson before he was besieged by a horde of claimants, petitioners and office seekers clamouring for attention. The commissioner worked an 18-hour day, and even at that could not keep abreast of the work. Working conditions, as noted were primitive and inadequate, noisy and cramped. The main wave of the influx, which struck Dawson like a tidal bore in the summer of 1898 swelling the population from about 5,000 the previous year to something in the order of 20,000 to 30,000, simply swamped the administration and nowhere more so than in the harrassed gold commissioner's office. Predictably and inevitably confusion ensued and mistakes were made in the complicated process of registering claims. But the grievance mongers and the opponents of government saw in this a calculated design whereby wily officials battened on the miners. The mining code in any case was unpopular with the miners, many of whom were Americans with little notion of Canadian procedure. Few stopped to consider that in their own country aliens would not be allowed to mine; it was enough for them that what seemed to be an unfair royalty was being levied on the hard-won products of their toil by a government which appeared not to have their interests at heart. Matters came to a head with serious charges of malfeasance directed at Thomas Fawcett, the gold commissioner.

On 6 February 1899, Eugene C. Allen, proprietor of the outspoken and anti-government *Klondike Nugget*, accused Fawcett of using his office for the benefit of his friends, throwing open his records to them while denying the public access. The *Nugget* attacked the harrassed gold commissioner remorselessly, both on its front pages and in its editorial columns. Ogilvie had been informed of his commission to investigate charges laid by the miners' committee against divers government officials by Sifton on 10 October the previous fall. On 28 February 1899 he reported to Sifton that the miners' committee had withdrawn their charges. There remained, however, the Fawcett imbroglio to investigate which Ogilvie sat as a one-man commission.

By 24 February 1899, the *Nugget* had withdrawn its inflammatory charges against the sore-pressed gold commissioner, but Fawcett insisted in a letter to Ogilvie that the investigation proceed in order to clear his name. Ogilvie's findings had, by the end of April, cleared Fawcett of all charges. Ogilvie's opinion of the *Nugget* was expressed forcibly to Laurier in a letter of 22 March.

We have a blackguard sheet here called the Klondike Nugget *whose principal object seems to be to villify everyone who in any way runs counter to its wishes or thoughts. It is American as are all the papers in Dawson* [scarcely the case, for the *Yukon Sun* was a government supporter, and edited by an arch-imperialist, Major Woodside]*—strongly American and has continually held up the action of Council and myself to Americans in an unfavorable light, imputing antipathy of Americans in our acts. This has been furthest from our thoughts, as far as we can help it....*

It abused poor Fawcett until it nearly broke the poor man's heart; and because I did not take sides with it, it is pitching into me. It is utterly regardless of the truth in any statements it may make, simply asserting anything it may imagine will improve its standing with a certain class of people here; and there are a good many of that sort here, I regret to say—principally Americans.[32]

Fawcett may have been inefficient, was undoubtedly short-staffed, but definitely not dishonest. However, as is so often the case, the mud sticks despite an acquittal.

The *Nugget* at first had welcomed Ogilvie's appointment, looking to him for a reform of the mining code. But, continued the editor, there were only so many hours in the day, and while Fawcett remained as gold commissioner, there was little that the commissioner could do. On the maligned Fawcett's departure, when Ogilvie stated, "I expect at the end of twelve months I will be blamed and accused and in as bad a predicament as he is now. I am resigned to it beforehand. I don't care what the newspapers say about me,"[33] the *Nugget* editorially labeled this "another of those inexcusable prevarications for which the Yukon commissioner is noted."[34]

If one characteristic stands out in the character of William Ogilvie above all others, it is surely the man's inflexible integrity. He was no more tempted to make a little money for himself on the side than was the selfless Father Judge, who died tending typhoid victims. He therefore, on taking office, at once divested himself of the few interests he had, but not fast enough for the *Nugget*. On 23 March 1899 the *Nugget* published a letter from the commissioner describing how he, in December of 1895, had made application in partnership with two others for 160 acres of coal-bearing lands on Coal Creek, the purchase being approved by Order in Council in 1898. Ogilvie sold his portion of the lands on 17 September 1898, 12 days after his arrival in Dawson. But, pointed out the *Nugget*, when a deputation of miners had waited on the commissioner on 8 September nine days before he had actually disposed of his property, Ogilvie had asserted that he had no interests in the territory. Under the biblical heading *mene, mene, tekel, upharsin* (Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting), the editor, in surely questionable taste, proceeded to impute dishonest motives to the commissioner: "The prevarication is really not of a serious moment except as showing which way the wind blows. Such people, in our estimation, are not to be trusted with affairs of state."[35] Ogilvie treated his journalistic critic with contempt: a successor at a later date was to refer to "the reptile American press."

Another issue of quite a different character which Ogilvie faced was that of widespread and blatant prostitution. This feature was common to all mining camps and frontier regions, wherever the men had money to spend following varying periods of enforced continence. In Dawson the problem, if such it should be termed, was closely associated with the numerous saloons, hotels and dance halls operated by a species of camp follower that often made more out of the gold-rush than many a man who dug for gold. Most authorities have divested the dance-hall girls of the description of common prostitute, their function rather being to induce their patrons to drink freely; this practice, besides the fleecing of many a careless or reckless fellow in from the creeks, certainly acted as a catalyst in the trade done by the girls along 2nd and 3rd Avenues. Ogilvie, a practical soul who knew the north if anyone did, as early as 1899 instituted medical inspection of the prostitutes on a monthly basis in order to control disease, which was rampant. Both the medical health officer and the surgeon of the North-West Mounted Police were issuing certificates to those girls found to be free of the scourge. But in a society as puritanical as Canada of the late nineties, moralists objected to these precautions on the grounds that they amounted to a condoning of vice; rather, vice should be ruthlessly extirpated, not made less of a health hazard for those so depraved as to indulge in such sinful pleasures. So it was that Ogilvie, a man of irreproachable moral rectitude himself, came under increasing pressure from Ottawa to close the dance halls and stamp out prostitution.

Replying to a letter from William (later Sir William) Mulock, then Minister of Labour, acting on a complaint from the Women's Christian Temperance Union, Ogilvie on 22 May 1900 explained his position. The Yukon Council had investigated the problem thoroughly and he was at one with them in deep-felt concern over the evil, but so widespread was perjury in the territory that it was very difficult, if not impossible, to secure evidence sufficient for a conviction. With all respect, continued Ogilvie, to the ladies of the WCTU, there was nonetheless widespread ignorance on the "outside" concerning actual conditions in Dawson.[36] Ogilvie's was the pragmatic approach to a problem as old as the Pentateuch.

But this was not good enough for Sifton. The minister directed a missive to the commissioner dated 14 August 1900, ordering him to proceed forthwith against the dance halls, gambling casinos and bordellos of Dawson. Ogilvie made one final stand against the root and branch policy promulgated by the minister. On 12 September 1900 he again addressed Sifton on the subject. Gambling and dance halls admittedly were evils but understandable under the circumstances of the time and place. These establishments had served a function in Dawson and they should be phased out gradually. To proceed against them precipitately would only drive the practices underground. Better that inevitable licence be continued under strict surveillance than that it should rage uncontrolled surreptitiously. In any case, conditions in Dawson had been greatly exaggerated by moralists and sensation-seekers on the outside. But the minister remained adamant: the dance halls and their attendant evils must go.

> *I may say that after reading your letter, and also the account of the interview with Major Wood* [NWMP]... *I do not see that the ground taken by you is one that could fairly be advanced for the continuance of this evil. No man in Canada has the right to expect that he will be permitted to continue in any illicit or illegal business and consequently he could have no claim whatever to any notice or compensation.*[37]

On receipt of this letter, Ogilvie had no choice but to implement the minister's directive. The decision was taken, therefore, to close down the gambling houses and the dance halls, effective 15 March 1901. The deadline was put far enough ahead to enable the proprietors and operators of these establishments to wind up their affairs, "as it would have been considered a breach of faith to close them instantly after the toleration extended to them in the past."[38] Subsequently the deadline was again extended to 1 June 1901. The dance halls were to lead an emasculated and tenuous existence for another seven years, however, the "Floradora" closing its doors only in 1908.

In addition to his onerous duties as chief executive, Ogilvie acted as mayor and city engineer of Dawson as well as fire commissioner. The council appointed Ogilvie city engineer with instructions to do something to improve the drainage of Dawson. Ogilvie arranged for the digging of a system of ditches by means of which the town's drainage was greatly improved. The commissioner was much concerned over the depletion of timber due to the voracious demand for fuel during the 7-month sub-Arctic winter and to the requirements of the mines. On arrival, indeed, he prohibited the cutting of trees exceeding seven inches in diameter in order to conserve timber in the region. He promoted road construction, very much a need in pioneer Dawson, and advocated the establishment of a brickworks, suitable deposits of clay having been discovered in the vicinity.

The territorial government of the time, with its fully appointive council and the broadly based powers of the commissioner, was neither representative nor democratic. The reasons for this have been already cited – a large itinerant population, only about one in five of which was a British subject. The agitation for popular government was to dominate the scene for the next five to six years. The *Dawson Daily News*, the town's leading paper from its founding in July 1899, fought strenuously for the introduction of representative government. The editor opposed taxation without representation, a sound democratic principle and one of the principal planks of the American Revolution. Ogilvie, on the contrary, considered that the powers vested in him by the Yukon Act empowering him to impose such duties and charges as deemed necessary for the carrying out of his functions, included the right to levy taxes on his own recognizance. To the *News*, this was a denial of a fundamental British right. The wording of the Act contended the editor, was ambiguous, as indeed it was concerning the taxing authority. The Yukon Act stated in part:

> 4 *The Commissioner shall administer the government of the territory under instructions from time to time given him by the Governor in Council or the Minister of the Interior.*
>
> 5 *...but no ordinance made by the Governor in Council or the Commissioner in Council shall,*
>
> a) *impose any tax or any duty of customs or any excise or any penalty exceeding one hundred dollars, or...*
>
> c) *appropriate any public money, lands or property of Canada without authority of Parliament.*[39]

The above wording makes it easy to understand why contention should arise. In any case, Ogilvie interpreted the Act as giving him authority to tax without representation, which must indeed have been the intention of the legislators who drew up the Act, for how otherwise could the commissioner administer the affairs of the territory if he were not empowered to levy taxes?

But the unrepresentative character of the Yukon administration was not to remain such. On 17 October 1900, the first election was held for two seats on the Yukon Council, the other four to remain appointive for the time being. It was this election which resulted in Ogilvie's recall for alleged mishandling of the campaign. Four candidates were in the field, but neither candidate favoured by the Liberal party was returned. Several Liberals, including the defeated Thomas O'Brien, the owner of the government paper the *Yukon Sun*, denounced Ogilvie for the outcome of the first bid to introduce the popular principle into the territorial government. Laurier at first delayed recalling the commissioner and consulted with Sifton. But by one means and another Ogilvie's remaining tenure in office was made unpleasant. In tendering his resignation he pleaded ill health, but hinted that there were also other reasons "some of which are personal dislike of many things in connection with my position."[40] On his resignation becoming public knowledge the following spring, Ogilvie's inveterate critic, the *Klondike Nugget*, in its 7 April 1901 edition, paid the commissioner a handsome tribute.

> *Mr. Ogilvie steps down from his position with a record of unimpeachable honesty and integrity and the knowledge that, owing in no small degree to his efforts, the Yukon territory is governed today by wise and just laws.*[41]

A week later a bridge spanning the Klondike was opened and named the Ogilvie Bridge in his honour.

As the time for his departure drew near, the commissioner was presented on the evening of 5 June with a handsome souvenir of his administration by the government staff in Dawson. Appropriately the gift took the form of a miner's bucket filled with the tools of the miner's trade wrought in pure gold and suspended by four ropes of gold. There was no doubt then in anyone's mind that the commissioner had laboured for the good of the territory and with no thought of self. Some verse composed on the occasion aptly expresses the debt the territory owed its second commissioner.

There are men who work for glory,
There are men who work for gold,
There are men the love of woman
urges on;
But the man who works for duty,
Has been cast in a nobler mold,
May the God of duty bless him when
he's gone.[42]

Ogilvie was so overcome with emotion that he was speechless for several moments. He then said that he felt no bitterness or rancor toward anyone, and that the sincerity of this farewell tribute had convinced him that none owed any toward him. Ogilvie departed Dawson aboard the *Susie* on the evening of 24 June 1901. With him passes the pioneer, mining-camp phase in the Klondike's brief history. The ensuing five or six years were to witness intense political turmoil centred upon the unrepresentative character of the territorial government and reforms in the mining code.

Of all the commissioners, Ogilvie impresses one as excelling in his honesty, integrity and indefatigable labours. He was adamantly against public officials speculating in mining claims or using their position to profit from the rich diggings of the goldfields. He also disapproved of government officials holding other places of emolument in addition to their official positions. Early in his term of office Ogilvie reported the registrar, Girouard, for carrying on a law practice as well in Dawson. Far too many Yukon appointments, he continued, were had by means of political patronage, and too often a Yukon appointment was thought of as the sesame to a fortune. Public officials should be well paid and kept to their official duties. Apparently the prime minister agreed with him, for in a letter of 22 March 1899, Ogilvie expressed satisfaction that he and Laurier saw eye to eye on the matter.[43]

Ogilvie was of a practical bent. When asked on one occasion what influence was most potent in human progress in the 19th century, he replied George Stephenson and the steam locomotive. Railways had revolutionized the art of war, as witness the American Civil War; had accelerated progress to the degree that the accomplishments hitherto of several generations were now compressed into one lifetime; had made possible the welding together of huge nations such as Canada, the United States and Russia, and had greatly facilitated travel and hence the freer intermingling of the human race.

Ogilvie next visited Dawson in July 1908 as president of the Yukon Basin Gold Dredging Company, bringing with him the first of the dredges to be used on the Stewart River. He was reported as looking hale and fit, albeit a little greyer, still with a great stock of reminiscences of the early days of the territory. A dinner was held in his honour in the Regina Hotel, at which the current commissioner, Alexander Henderson, paid high tribute to the tremendous load of responsibility Ogilvie discharged so ably in the early days of the territory, dwarfing by comparison his own responsibilities in the present settled era.

Ogilvie died in Winnipeg on 13 November 1912 at the age of 66. The *Dawson Daily News* in its edition of 31 January 1913 paid tribute to Ogilvie's career of public service. Ever generous himself, he died poor; the *News* supported the movement current among some members of parliament to secure a pension for his widow. The obituary brought out the kindly human side of the man, who as commissioner never sent penniless from his door a man down on his luck. He was known as a generous, big-hearted man, and his generosity to others in some measure contributed to his lean means in his old age. He was a storyteller of the first order, and had a varied and rich experience to draw on. Many of his reminiscences were gathered by him into a book published by Thorburn and Abbott in 1913, *Early Days on the Yukon & The Story of Its Gold Finds*. Ogilvie made nothing out of the fabulous stampede, but he died richer in experience and with a clearer conscience than many who had.

By the turn of the century the frontier had receded far from the banks of the Klondike: Dawson had become a settled community, a mining town not so very different from similar communities scattered across the breadth of the dominion. Permanent residents, family men, had displaced in large measure the itinerant stampeders, in for a season or two in the illusive hope of striking it rich. In 1901 the territory's population stood at 27,219: a decade later it had dwindled to less than a third that figure (8,512), and by 1921 to half that again (4,157).[1] Gold production, on which the economy of the territory still hinged, reached its peak in 1900, declining rapidly to 1903, thereafter more slowly. In large measure the dredge had replaced the pan and the hand rocker.

It would be a great mistake to imagine that Dawson, hard up against the Arctic Circle, had settled down to a staid middle age; on the contrary, its history now entered a period of political ferment, centering upon the demand for a greater measure of popular government and reform of the mining code. These goals, however, were not easily attained, and for the five years following the recall of Ogilvie the territory was a very hot-bed of political agitation, scurrilous abuse carried on in the press and charges and countercharges which baffled the authorities in Ottawa. Only with the incomparable "Billy" McInnes, were all the goals of popular agitation realized.

James Hamilton Ross

James Hamilton Ross, the Yukon's third commissioner, a 45-year-old, one-time rancher, came to the territory fresh from the North-West Assembly, where he had held a seat since 1883, filling the responsible positions of treasurer, commissioner of public works and territorial secretary. Ross was born 12 May 1856 and raised in London, Canada West, but feeling the call of the West with its then wide open spaces and challenge, he went to the high Plains, taking up ranching in the vicinity of Moose Jaw whence he entered territorial politics.

His appointment as commissioner of the Yukon took effect from 11 March 1901. Ross proved to be an able administrator who saw clearly the need for a better class of appointee in the Yukon, particularly on the bench, and a greater delegation of authority by the commissioner in order to leave himself freer to concentrate on matters of policy. His term as commissioner was short, and during that time he suffered manfully a personal tragedy. He bears the distinction of being the Yukon's first member of parliament, but ill health handicapped his performance in the House.

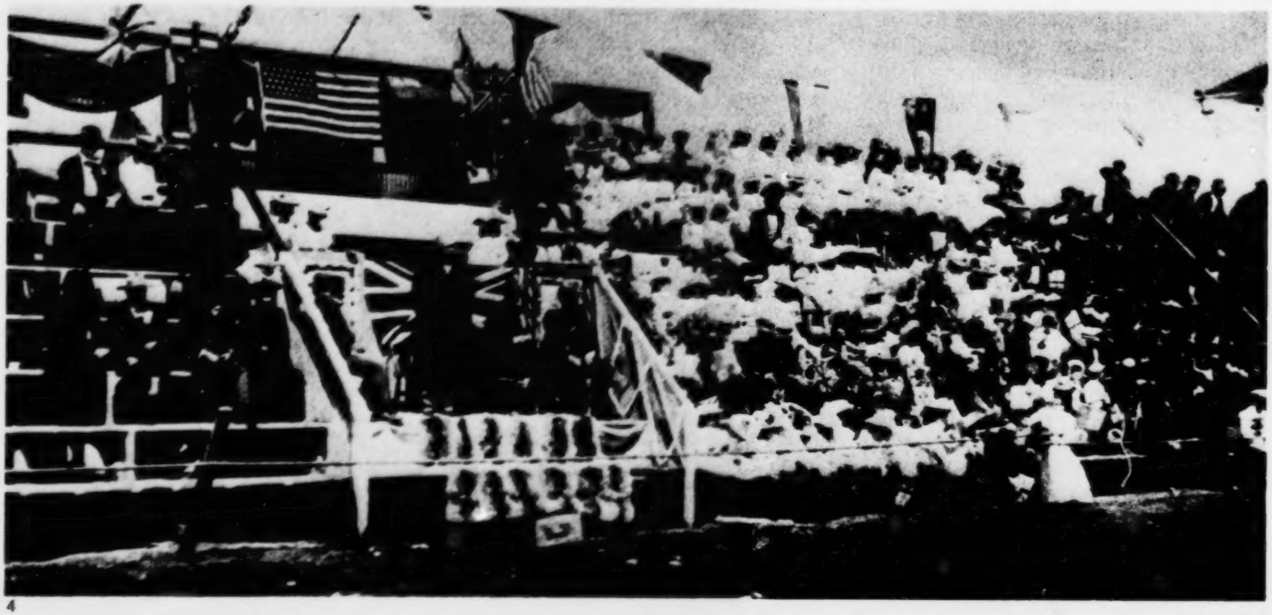
The new commissioner arrived in Dawson by private conveyance from Whitehorse on the evening of 9 April 1901 and put up at the McDonald Hotel. He was described in the *Klondike Nugget* as a typical westerner—broad-minded, pleasant, affable, approachable and of quick perception. But he was neither so broad-minded nor so rash as to express himself as favouring wide-open gambling, as was reported during his progress up the coast between Juneau and Skagway. Ross stated that he had made no such statement. He replied cautiously to questions concerning his future policy. His wife and six children were still in Regina and would join him in Dawson once navigation had opened. In conclusion he paid tribute to his predecessor who was still in town, saying that he trusted that his own tenure in office would be as free from taint of scandal as had been that of William Ogilvie.[2]

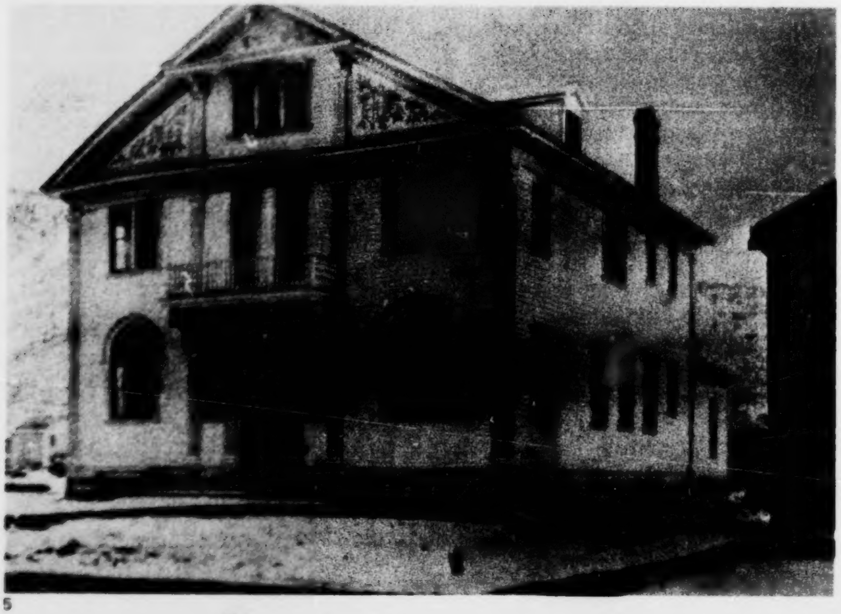
F. T. Congdon, who had been acting briefly as administrator and who would succeed Ross, thought highly of him.

If you will permit me to say so I am fully persuaded that had you searched Canada you could not have found the equal of Mr. Ross for the office of Commissioner. He is keen and bright, courageous and cautious and thoroughly experienced in the class of work to which he is obliged to devote his attention here.[3]

One of his early recommendations to Sifton was that greater care be taken in filling positions in the territorial administration. Too often inexperienced people had been sent up who required extensive training on the job, and who then were intent on leaving just when they were becoming of real use. He recommended that judges be appointed for three years only; otherwise they became restless and discontented, devising excuses for wintering on the outside which left the bench short-handed. Conditions were such that few men wished to stay in the territory for more than three or four years. There were many important cases before the courts, some involving large sums of

4 Commissioner Ross addressing gathering, Dawson, 24 May 1901. (*Public Archives of Canada.*)
5 Commissioner's residence, October, 1901. (*Public Archives of Canada.*)


4


5

money; hence the need for able and conscientious judges.[4] The very best jurists should be appointed to the Yukon.

Another early recommendation of Ross's of quite a different character was for the establishment of a brewery in the territory: actually the Yukon had not long to wait for this boon for Thomas O'Brien introduced a brewery in Dawson in the early years of the century. Ross also suggested the removal of restrictions on beer imports, for at the current price of the brew in Dawson men were driven to the more deleterious use of spirits. One recalls the imperial authorities' encouragement offered the brewers in the 18th century to combat the widespread addiction to gin among the lower classes.

Ross had a firm hand. He was not altogether satisfied with the administration of the gold commissioner's office and was constrained to remind that official that he was there to implement, not to formulate, policy. As Ross explained in a letter to Sifton on 16 August 1901,

I have pointed out to him that whenever the Government feel that they are in need of his services as a cabinet Minister to formulate their policy the Prime Minister will send for him and take him into the cabinet; but in the meantime, as I say, he is to interpret and carry out the wishes of the Government.[5]

Recently the 10 per cent royalty on gold production had been reduced to 5 per cent. Ross favoured a simple export tax, which was implemented within the next few sessions.

One of Ross's principal assignments on appointment was to investigate the concession issue. This had been a bone of contention since gold-rush days, and entailed the granting of large tracts to various individuals and companies for the systematic exploitation of the deposits through the use of complex and expensive machinery. This practice was held by the individual miners to be a betrayal of the rights of the small entrepeneur, who went into the territory with what he could pack on his back, working with pan and pick. It was suspected that the government profited handsomely by these concessions, and that their granting withheld much rich ground from the workings of the individual prospector and miner, who had literally put the Klondike on the map to start with. Ross did not commit himself but promised to investigate the concession issue. It was not that the principle was bad per se, for concessionaires with their elaborate equipment and capital could exploit ground which the pick and shovel man could not: it was, however, widely suspected that tracts had been turned over to concessionaires which were still rich enough to be of interest to the placer miner. In his first report written in the fall of 1901, Ross did not commit himself by any means on the concession issue. Gold, he wrote, was, still is, and is likely to remain the principal product of the country. The great need was to reduce the high cost of mining through a reduction in freight rates. As matters stood,

Many instances can be furnished where three, four, five and even ten times the cost paid for an article at Vancouver and Victoria has been paid for getting that article into position on some mining claim twenty or thirty miles from Dawson.[6]

At this date, Ross expressed a perhaps too sanguine optimism, at least in retrospect, on the future of Dawson. "No one can have spent a season in Dawson without realizing the existence of unmistakable signs of permanency." The new public buildings in Dawson, he wrote in the same report—a school, court house, administration building and post office—would do credit to a city of 50,000 on the outside. He also cited the completion of a commissioner's residence.

Ross was to be the first commissioner to reside in the spacious comfort, and indeed elegance, of an official residence, or Government House. And yet the very circumstance was to be marred by tragedy. In order to purchase furnishings for the residence in Vancouver and Victoria, the commissioner's wife with her baby and niece took passage on the ill-fated steamer *Islander* south-bound out of Skagway. At 2:00 A.M. on the night of 15 August 1901, the *Islander* struck an iceberg off Douglas Island, going down by the head in only 20 minutes with the loss of 24 passengers and crew, including Mrs. Ross and the two children. The direful tidings were borne to the commissioner the next day by Sheriff Eilbeck. A strong family man, Ross was prostrated with grief; a closed carriage was called, and the grief-stricken commissioner was driven to his residence. All government offices were closed and flags lowered to half mast. The rough-hewn *Nugget* was equal to the occasion.

Words are of no avail in even attempting to describe the heartfelt sympathy which we feel for Commissioner Ross in the terrible bereavement that has just befallen him. We assure him that every heart in the Yukon bleeds with his and for him and his six little children, now motherless, will tonight ascend a prayer from countless lips that the God of all may sustain them in their bereavement.[8]

Shortly thereafter the commissioner left the territory with the bodies of his wife and child. On 1 October he arrived back in Dawson where he received a warm welcome. He was reported to be looking hale and fit, but the illness he suffered the following summer may well be attributed to this heart-wringing tragedy.

It must have been with very mixed feeling that Ross took up residence in the lavishly appointed and luxuriously furnished Government House, the first of the commissioners to have a residence befitting his office. The considerable sum (in those days) of $25,000 had been set aside in the Public Works estimates for 1900-01 for its construction, which got under way on 7 July 1901 under the direction of the government's resident architect, T. W. Fuller. It was ready for occupancy by 1 November. A three-storeyed frame house with spacious verandahs and many gables decorated with ornate trim, the residence was far and away the largest and most sumptuous in Dawson. The main or ground floor contained an office for the commissioner opening off the high-ceilinged central hall, a dining-room and a reception room paneled with highly polished Douglas fir.[9] A small private dining-room was situated opposite the main entrance. On the second floor were six bedrooms, some with attached bathrooms. One feature of the residence was the comfortable provision of indoor water closets, hitherto, said the *Klondike Nugget*, considered a luxury in Dawson. There were two brick chimneys and the roof was covered with galvanized iron, no doubt as a fire precaution. Servants' quarters were located on the third floor. The whole was heated by a hot-air furnace, later found to be inadequate. As the *Nugget* observed, the residence was in striking contrast to the accommodation provided Walsh and Ogilvie; but then Dawson was becoming a settled community, the capital of a thriving territory with a prosperous and secure future, it was hoped. Government House was equipped with electric light. The total cost of construction, including heating and lighting equipment, came to $41,534,94.[10] A further $7,000 was appropriated for furnishings, some notion of which may be gleaned from the Auditor General's report of 1900-01.[11] In later years, Mrs. Martha Louise Black, wife of Yukon's last commissioner and for four years a chatelaine of Government House wrote of it,

This official residence, situated on a prominent site at the confluence of the rivers, was a splendid example of "contractor's art," and was one of the sights of the country. It was ornate to the superlative degree, loaded with fancy fretwork of fantastic design. On either side of the third storey were large boxlike ornaments, which in these early days were derisively called "ballot boxes," in a reference to alleged ballot box frauds.[12]

The luxurious residence, in those early years of Yukon's prosperity, accorded well with the dignity attaching to the office of its chief executive. This was to be followed, however, by many years of sad anticlimax, boarded up and uninhabited, but none foresaw this in 1901.

It was said of Ross that he had the knack of dealing with more people within a given period of time than anyone else in the public service; so said the *Nugget* in any case. He too was besieged by a stream of calls morning to night. In his report of 30 June 1902, Ross had considerable development to record during his first complete year in office. Improved means of transportation, and particularly the opening up of new roads to the diggings, had so manifestly lowered the cost of mining that low-grade ground scorned in the earlier period as uneconomic could now be worked to good advantage. Machinery was replacing the pick and shovel. Confidently he wrote, "Gold mining is still, and will always be, the chief industry of the territory, but the conditions of mining are rapidly changing from a speculative to a permanent business character."[13] Dawson, he continued elsewhere in his report, now wore the settled aspect of a Canadian city with stores stocked with goods comparable to those on the outside, with churches, hospitals and schools; with its sidewalks and street lighting it had surpassed a number of larger centres in the long-settled regions of eastern Canada. Dawson had become an incorporated city governed by a mayor and six aldermen who were carrying on the task of municipal government which had so recently devolved upon the overworked Ogilvie. Quite a bit had been accomplished in a quiet unobtrusive way during Ross's first year in office. In the words of the *Daily Morning Sun*, admittedly a supporter of government,

> *No one who is honest can possibly find fault with the action of the government during the past year. When the situation is calmly surveyed the rapidity with which a howling wilderness, far removed from civilization, almost impossible of access, and nearly within the Arctic Circle, has passed to a settled community, with lines of communications well established, with a settled form of government, a city with its own incorporation, the territory with self government and the right accorded to it to send a representative to the federal parliament, the whole is sufficient to make the world wonder. Nothing like it has occurred in the history of any country.*[14]

The year 1902 was to see the election of the first member to represent the Yukon in the House of Commons. Arriving at Skagway on the *Princess May* on 1 June 1902, Ross was noncommittal as to whether he would run for the seat. He replied that he thought he could contribute more as commissioner, but that if pressed, he would consider being a candidate. On his return to Dawson a few days later, following a 5½-month absence, he denied rumours that Laurier had approached him concerning entry to the cabinet; this, however, was a rumour that died hard and was to play a part in the forthcoming election. The *Sun* described Ross's welcome in Dawson as "the grandest and most enthusiastic reception ever tendered to a public man in the West, or in the Yukon territory at least."[15] A welcoming delegation sailed upstream aboard the *Susie* to meet Ross inbound on the *Bailey*. The *Susie* was decorated in gala fashion, crowded with celebrants and with a portrait of the commissioner at the head of the main staircase. The two riverboats met upstream from Dawson at a point called Ensley, whereupon the band aboard the *Susie* struck up the national anthem, followed by the "Maple Leaf." On the return run a luncheon of heroic dimensions and no mean delicacy was served prepared by a gourmet chef formerly engaged in a luxury hotel in Honolulu. No doubt the commissioner's devotion to duty and accomplishments, despite the tragedy in his own life the previous year, had done much to endear him to the territory.

But the strain of the bereavement and of the pressure to which he was undoubtedly subject had taken its toll. On the arrival of the steamer *Columbian* at Whitehorse on 18 July 1902, it was learned that the commissioner, a passenger, had been stricken with a severe paralytic stroke. He was at once taken to a Major Snyder's house in Whitehorse where two doctors diagnosed a partial paralysis of the left side. For a time his life was in jeopardy and he required the attendance of two trained nurses. But on 15 August, Ross was able to telegraph Sifton that he was recovering rapidly, regaining the use of both his arm and his voice; he expected to leave on 19 August for Victoria, but a physician and two nurses were to accompany him on the journey south, a journey which eventually took him as far as Los Angeles and another spell of hospitalization.

Obviously Ross had been approached to stand for Parliament, for on 29 August 1902 he was telegraphing Sifton from Victoria to the effect that the doctors had told him that a political campaign would injure him, but nonetheless, if it was the will of the party, he would do so. But they must understand, he continued, that he must engage in no activity for the next three months, and even thereafter he would have to take due care. Eventually, he was told, he would recover his health. Under the circumstances, of course, his chances of election would not be as good as if he could take an active part in the campaign.

Speaking in Brockville, Ontario, on 5 September, Sifton accorded Ross high praise and said that had it not been for his illness, he would undoubtedly have been taken into the cabinet to share with Senator Templeman the representation of the West.

> *Mr. Ross is unquestionably one of the most capable men we have ever had in the West. He has had a most successful career in public life in the Northwest, and from all that I can learn he has won the confidence of the people of the Yukon district in a very great degree.*[16]

Writing to Sifton from Victoria on 23 September, Ross told him that he was going on to Los Angeles to convalesce. Nevertheless, Ross allowed his name to stand for nomination, although unable to campaign. Thereafter political game was made of his condition by the contending parties. On 8 November the *Nugget* proclaimed with banner headlines that Ross was now en route to Ottawa for a probable cabinet appointment. Ross was opposed by Joseph A. Clarke, the stormy petrel of Yukon politics, a man with a shady past who had served noisily and contentiously on the Yukon council and who eventually became the mayor of Edmonton. The *Nugget* and the *Sun* both supported Ross and made much of his anticipated entry to the cabinet, when Yukon would be indeed well served with a cabinet minister representing her interests. There was, however, no intention of taking Ross into the cabinet for his health was such that, when elected to the House as Yukon's member, his erstwhile supporters turned against him for the way in which he neglected their interests in the House. The *Nugget's* campaign, based on a false premise, backfired.

The *Dawson Daily News*, a Clarke supporter, denied this allegation, thrown out as a vote-catcher at the last moment, that Ross was slated, if elected, for the cabinet. The *News* had it on the authority of the Toronto *Mail and Empire* that Ross's prospects of cabinet appointment were unfounded, and that further they had received a telegram from the *Los Angeles Times* that the candidate had been ill in hospital for three weeks with rheumatism. Rather unctuously the *News* concluded, "The *News* has the deepest sympathy for Mr. Ross in his affliction, but a stern sense of duty to the people demands that the truth be told."[17]

On 13 November, the *Nugget* published a telegram from Ross stating that he was leaving Los Angeles for Victoria the same day and that the rumour of his illness was false. The *News* and *Nugget* then charged one another with fabricating telegrams. The two rival papers could not even agree on the name of the hospital in which the ailing Ross had been treated: the *News* referred to the Hospital of the Good Samaritan, the *Nugget* to the Hospital of the Good Shepherd, but both agreed that the institution was in Los Angeles. The *News* was the stronger paper but was backing the weaker candidate. Although unable to campaign, Ross nonetheless won the seat handily.

And so James Hamilton Ross entered the House as the Yukon's first member. His platform was succinctly stated: "I recognize that the whole business life of the Yukon depends upon the success of the prospector and miner, and they above all others must be encouraged."[18] Among the measures he worked for were duty-free importation of mining machinery for one year, a wholly elective council, the reduction of miners' licence fees, and the establishment of a smelter. Ross foresaw the future importance of Whitehorse, both by reason of its location and the large copper deposits in the vicinity.

Ross's ill health continued to plague him to such an extent that he was often absent from the House. By June of 1903 his erstwhile supporter, the *Nugget*, was having second thoughts about its support of Ross. The growing dissatisfaction confirmed the *News*' reservations about Ross the previous autumn, on the grounds of his ill health. Ross recommended F. T. Congdon, who had acted as legal adviser to the territorial government, as his successor. Of Ross the irascible pioneer editor of the *Yukon Sun* wrote: "Hon. J. H. Ross made a fine Commissioner but his sickness was a calamity to Yukon, for it has led to the appointment of a Mr. Fred T. Congdon, of Halifax, as Commissioner."[19]

There is no doubt but that Ross must be accounted a very able commissioner, a practical reformer, affable and approachable. If he was less active as a member than as commissioner, this undoubtedly was due to the poor state of his health.

Ross was summoned to the Senate in 1904, no doubt in lieu of a cabinet portfolio. He retained his seat in the upper House until his death in Victoria, British Columbia, 14 December 1932.

Frederick Tennyson Congdon

The most controversial commissioner Yukon ever had was born in Annapolis, Nova Scotia, 16 November 1858, the son of Hinkle Congdon and Catherine Tompkins Congdon. He attended the Annapolis High School. Frederick Tennyson Congdon came of English stock: his mother indeed was a Greek and Latin scholar who, according to an article in the *Yukon Sun*, resided in England. The boy lived up to his parents' expectations. He took a B.A. in arts, with first-class

6 Commissioner Congdon. (*Dawson Daily News*, 7 May 1903.)

6

honours in classics at Toronto in 1879, studied law for two years under the tutelage of his grandfather at the Inner Temple, London, and took his LL.B. in 1883 at Toronto, first entering partnership with a Dr. Russell, Q.C., who from 1896 sat for Halifax in the House of Commons. During his seven years in a Halifax law practice, Congdon rapidly won recognition in his profession. His two years (1885-87) as an editorial writer for the *Halifax Morning Chronicle* apparently gave him a taste for politics, for he twice contested Shelburne against heavy odds in the Liberal interest and he campaigned for Fielding in the 1900 election. In 1896 he was appointed a lecturer at the Dalhousie Law School, and in 1899 to the commission for the revision of provincial statutes. In this capacity he published a *Digest of Provincial Laws of Nova Scotia*.

The able but mercurial Congdon seems first to have arrived in the Yukon about the turn of the century, when Dawson still bore some of the earmarks of a boom town. In 1901 he was appointed legal adviser to the Yukon Council. But Congdon did not retain that post for long, for on 15 July 1901 he announced his resignation, effective 12 September 1901, in order to join the Dawson law firm of Wade and Aikman. The *Nugget* regretted his resignation from the council, but alleged that he could not live on the salary of $5,000 per annum with four dependents, a wife, two sons and a daughter. The *Nugget* considered Congdon's work on legislation worth many times his salary and strongly urged that salaries be raised for these officials in order to secure able men. Although he had not been long in the Yukon, Congdon was reported as being very popular, with many friends. Within a couple of years that popularity had faded : to many in the territory the name of Congdon had become anathema.

Congdon was appointed to the commissionership on 4 March 1903, inaugurating the stormiest tenure of that office in the territory's history. Initially the appointment was popular. There could be no doubt of the man's ability, and he had been in the territory long enough, with sufficient experience in office, that he must be accounted thoroughly familiar with Yukon's needs and aspirations. He would be a strong executive, but that, after all, was what the territory needed. There was much yet to be done in the reform of the mining code, the popularization of government, the lowering of freight rates and the improvement of communications in this far northerly region. Congdon, it would appear, was just what the territory needed. The pro-government paper, soon to be repudiated and dispossessed of its patronage by Congdon, enthusiastically reported his triumphal progress along the trail to Dawson.

> *All along the trail, the people united in making his trip a pleasurable one. At every road-house he was met by people anxious to shake his hand and tell him how glad they were that he is commissioner, and at Wounded Moose roadhouse he stood out in the cold for half an hour listening to the view of an old sour-dough who happened along just at that time with a Yukon sled attached to a single dog, and who was on his way to prospect in the Stewart river country–for the new commissioner is one of the best "mixers" that ever came over the trail. At Stewart river he met the first party of Dawsonites who had made the 150-mile trip to be the first from Dawson to congratulate him, and at Indian river he was met by a delegation of his fellow government officials who had been there three days waiting to greet him. At Grand Forks he met a reception that could not be questioned from standpoint of numbers, enthusiasm and cordiality, and there changed conveyances to ride into his home town with the mayor of Dawson, followed by about a dozen conveyances, filled with his friends and fellow citizens.*[20]

The new commissioner arrived in Dawson shortly before eleven on the morning of 9 April, his wife and family to follow on from Victoria with the opening of Yukon navigation the following month. He was to be found in his office in the administration building by ten the following morning. His salary, as with the previous incumbents, was $6,000 per annum with a further $6,000 allowance for expenses.

He missed a few days at his office early in August, confined to a darkened room with a badly inflamed eye thought to have been caused by a powder burn while shooting.

Congdon started off well. In November he expressed himself in favour of a wholly elective council which, he opined in a letter to Sifton, would be easier to handle than the present council. In the same letter he gave it as his opinion that the Yukon seat would be safe in the Liberal interest provided the party retained power in Ottawa ; otherwise it would likely fall to a Conservative. He went on to say that he had a gentleman's agreement with the Conservatives that they would support the Liberal contender as long as the government was sustained in power in Ottawa, but that the Liberals would act in the Conservative interest should the government be defeated ; however, he did not anticipate this state of affairs.[21]

Early in the new year, Congdon wrote to Sifton that he had been working very hard on a new mining code which was in the final throes of preparation ; if its main features were adopted, "I believe we shall have for the Yukon the only satisfactory mining code to be found in the world today."[22] By April of the following year, 1905, the Laurier government announced widespread changes in the Yukon mining code, among which were the reduction of the miner's licence to five dollars and an increase in the size of claims. Congdon's paper, the *World*, in its 4 April 1905 edition, pointed out that the present member, Dr. Alfred Thompson, had been credited with these reforms, but proved through a letter from Congdon to the

Dawson Board of Trade that the credit belonged rather to Congdon.[23]

Meantime the Congdons were taking their function as hosts at the residence seriously. On 6 November 1903, Mrs. Congdon entertained a group of young people with a dance. The *Yukon Sun* reported "the parlours of Government House brilliantly illuminated and decorated for the occasion."[24] A total of 35 guests attended. Early in December she threw a euchre party. A New Year's Day levée was held at the residence between the hours of one and two in the afternoon, possibly the first such vice-regal occasion in Dawson. Visitors were to be met by the commissioner and chatelaine in the hall on presenting their cards, and were then to pass into the drawing room to partake of light refreshments. Officers of the North-West Mounted Police in full-dress uniform joined the commissioner and his lady in the receiving line. On the occasion of George Washington's Birthday (which in the Dawson of the early days took equal precedence with Victoria or Empire Day, both of which eclipsed Dominion Day), Mrs. Congdon gave a luncheon for American ladies of her acquaintance. The dining table's centre-piece was a cherry tree, at the base of which were toy hatchets decorated with red, white and blue ribbons: ropes in the same national colours were draped from the chandelier to the four corners of the table. The menu featured a portrait of Washington with the American eagle and entwined flags, and a liberty bell appeared on the front page, but perhaps more to the point, "The luncheon was a triumph of the culinary art."[25] Coffee was served in the drawing room in approved and formal fashion. There were 11 guests, but not included was a future chatelaine of Government House, Mrs. Martha Louise Black, a lady from Chicago; of course, she and her husband may have been wintering on the outside.

But against this pleasant and hospitable backdrop, giving the territory a little much-needed "class," the commissioner himself was revealing a cloven hoof. If the commissioner was a reformer on some issues, he was also a dictator who could not abide opposition. The *Dawson Daily News*, the little capital's first paper and one which would become a formidable opponent to Congdon in the most heated election—later in the year—that the territory would ever see, reported the first of the commissioner's arbitrary proceedings in its 6 January 1904 edition. The two elective members of the Yukon Council, Joseph A. Clarke and Dr. Alfred Thompson, had absented themselves from the seven-man body (including the commissioner) in protest against some of Congdon's measures which they did not conceive to be in the people's interest. Congdon and the four appointive members nonetheless rammed through the legislation, although in fact they did not constitute a quorum, in just 3¼ minutes. It was the shape of things to come, for Congdon was set upon controlling the territorial government against all comers.

David R. Morrison in his *Politics of the Yukon Territory 1898-1909*, a masterly treatise on the political ferment which characterized those years, charges that Congdon fashioned

> *a personal political machine, sanctioned official intervention in party politics, violated two territorial ordinances, defied the wishes of representatives elected by the people, and allowed his lieutenant to support gambling in contravention of the Canadian Criminal Code and to use public revenues to further political ends*[26]

by naming the *World* as official gazette, refusing to appoint a three-man commission to administer Dawson, and by seizing the civic administration prior to the plebiscite on the Dawson city charter.

Congdon had not been in office long before deciding that the *Yukon Sun* was too blunt an instrument for his purposes; he therefore commissioned his henchman, William Temple, to establish a new government organ to be known as the *Yukon World* and to engage W. A. Beddoe, an able but mischievous editor from the *Dawson Daily News*, as its editor. This Temple at once proceeded to do, and the first edition of the *World* appeared on 29 February 1904. At first the supplanted *Sun* tried to brave it out, but by spring was forced to take issue with Congdon. Congdon's action in arbitrarily transferring government patronage from the *Sun* to the *World* split asunder the Liberal party in the Yukon. Richard Roediger, part owner and editor of the *Dawson Daily News*, contended that the Liberal party in the Yukon was "a house divided." Finally, in its 2 April edition, the *Sun* joined issue with Congdon.

> *A year ago when Commissioner Congdon came to Yukon, the chance was before him that few men have had....He surrounded himself with false friends and paid claquers, and put up a representation of the man who would be a czar. Today there are few men in business or professional life, in mining or labor circles, who are poor enough to call him friend.*[27]

The *Sun* went down with dignity. In its last editorial the pioneer paper (first published in June, 1898) rebuked its enemy.

> The Sun *has never gauged its Liberalism by the amount of money it has been able to obtain from the government. The advertisement will not change us. The commissioner has considered the question of depriving us of it for a long time, and now that we are deprived of it we can only say to the commissioner with all the old fashioned courtesy of Louis Mann: "The 'depravity' is all yours." Although deprived, it is no "depravity" to us.*[28]

In defending himself in a letter of 2 June 1904 to Deputy Minister J. A. Smart, Congdon revealed his hand.

> *I think you probably know from your short experience here of the desperate crowd one has to deal with. The only way to treat them is to take them by the throat, and if the present policy is continued for another year there will be no quieter part of the Dominion so far as the agitators are concerned, than Yukon. In the past too much attention has been paid to agitators. In the future professional agitators should be ignored and only complaints legitimately expressed and with good foundation, attended to.*[29]

And later the same month to Sifton:

> *All that is necessary to kill out agitators in this Territory is to take agitators by the throat, as they have been taken recently and go ahead with what is deemed proper in spite of their protests. They are a sick crowd here now and will be a great deal sicker as time rolls by.*[30]

Nor was the commissioner above stooping to personalities with his remarks concerning "the reptile American press."

By mid-July of 1904 with a federal election in the offing, Congdon tightened his control of the civil service. Those who opposed the Congdon line would suffer. The *World* indeed quoted the Yukon Act, by which the commissioner was given control, with powers of suspension, of all officials in the territory. The *News* contended that this blanket authority applied only to territorial and not federal officials such as the police, post office and customs. Only "the underlings of the administration building could be so bluffed." They had formed the "Tab" wing of the Liberals to back the commissioner regardless of the rest of their party.[31] But the contention of the *Dawson Daily News* was incorrect, as a reading of the terms of the Yukon Act would well have confirmed. In fact, the only official whom the commissioner could not control or suspend was the chief justice.

In a long letter to the Prime Minister written on 15 July 1904, Congdon complained that opposition was rife throughout the ranks of the civil service, with disgruntled officials working hand in glove with dissaffected Americans who opposed federal authority on principle. In fact, certain federal officials such as the postmaster, Hartman, had supported the *News*, the opposition paper, whose rascally editor had been heard to boast that the commissioner had no control over his administration. It was necessary to make one good example to restore discipline. Congdon concluded with, "I assure you that I have done nothing – and will do nothing in this Territory, which will not stand the most intimate investigation. I will not escape calumny. I do not expect to escape."[32] To which Sir Wilfred replied on 6 August, "The Government has obsolute confidence in your zeal and judgment and hitherto, whilst we have received numerous complaints as you well know, we have taken no heed of the same and left the whole matter to your discretion."[33] Congdon had more comments on the scum of Seattle, San Francisco and Tacoma, indicative that at this phase of his career he did not like Americans, especially Americans in the Klondike, with their upstart republicanism and vulgar egalitarianism. It was to be the Canadian voters, for of course the Americans had not the franchise, who were to reject Congdon.

Although so many reports of party dissension in Dawson had reached his ears, Laurier no doubt felt justified in retaining confidence in Congdon. He had, after all, effected economies by reducing roads expenditure and by cutting back on the ranks of the civil service, from which he anticipated a surplus of $50,000 instead of the usual deficit.

As the time for the federal election approached Congdon, with some regrets, decided to resign the commissionership and contest the seat himself. He wrote Laurier on 8 November 1904 that he considered that he was the candidate who could "reconcile the conflicting elements better than anyone else."[34] Robert Lowe of Whitehorse would run if he did not, and Lowe was not acceptable to the Dawson voters. He also could reconcile the English- and French-speaking elements in the territory. He was confident of victory, he assured Laurier, "and I may say in conclusion that I shall be very greatly disappointed if my majority is not 500, and I hope for more."[35] In tendering his resignation on 29 October, Congdon thanked Laurier for his unfailing support "in my difficult office. Your kindness has increased my deep devotion to you. I trust I shall receive on December 16th a right royal vindication."[36]

The lines were now drawn, the issues closed. Congdon was opposed by Dr. Alfred Thompson who ran as an Independent. The campaign was the nastiest and dirtiest in the Yukon's brief history. The *News* supported Thompson, who had the backing of the Conservatives and the anti-Congdon Liberals, known locally as the "Steam Beers" in reference to a brewery owned by one of their more prominent members. The pro-Congdon Liberals were labeled "Tabs" from the chits given out by Congdon's campaign headquarters for future redemption by his supporters. The *News* rallied the anti-Congdon forces under the battle cry, "We must defeat this gang or leave the territory."[37] On 30 November the *News* warned its readers through what it termed a leak in the "Tab" headquarters that the Congdon forces were about to publish bogus telegrams purporting to emanate from Ottawa, promising all sorts of concessions and promises likely to sway the voters at the last moment. The *News* said that the fact that Congdon's supporters would resort to such a stale dodge showed that they were desperate for some expedient to stave off defeat. The same tactic had been used in the Ross campaign two years earlier; it had worked then, but the voters should not be gulled a second time.

In the issue Thompson won by some 600 votes; it should have been more like 1,500 said the *News*, but the nefarious tactics of the Congdon machine had reduced it by more than half. Pontificated the *News*,

> *The safety from revolution of any British country or of Britain herself, depends wholly upon the power of the people to work their will without bloodshed. This opinion is not at all original, but is the basic principle of all the works of Macaulay on British constitutionalism.*[38]

On 19 December the editor of the *News* pressed for the laying of charges against all those accused of misconduct in attempting to influence the result of the election. In the sequel many of the charges were dropped, to the disgust of the *News*.

And so Congdon went down to defeat. Like the dog in Aesop's fables, he had dropped the substance at hand for what proved an illusion. But his eclipse was to prove temporary.

One by-product of the vicious election campaign was the resentment shown the estimable Royal North-West Mounted Police by the defeated commissioner, who carried on a campaign against the force, surely the first and the last commissioner to do so. In his report dated at Dawson on 3 August 1903 a year and more before the election, Congdon paid the force the usual encomiums for its integrity and efficiency. A year later, however, writing to Sifton on 17 August 1904, he charged that the police and particularly the officers were opposed to the administration. They stood in awe of agitators. Major Zachary Taylor Wood, Royal North-West Mounted Police, in a letter to F. C. Wade, gave the reason why.

> *Win or lose Congdon will see that I leave the Yukon because the police have in certain measure prevented Temple from carrying out his Tammany schemes; for instance we stopped the gambling and thus put an end to his receiving protection money from this class.*[39]

Also, he had refused to award contracts to the "Tab" faction rather than the "Steam Beers" and other Liberals at higher bids than the letter had quoted.

But worse disclosures were to come. In a letter to the comptroller of the Royal North-West Mounted Police on 19 December 1904, Wood charged the "Tab" faction, or Congdon supporters, with having stolen voters' lists and with having removed names from others. But all the stolen lists had been recovered and the lists corrected, so thwarting the machinations of the Congdon machine which had only succeeded in splitting the Liberal party in twain. He added that many civil servants had been intimidated by the Congdon forces in order to force their vote for the sake of their jobs.[40]

But if any thought Congdon disposed to be a good sport about the election, they were mistaken. In a whining letter to Laurier the following year (20 September) Congdon attacked Wood.

> *When I was defeated, straightway, that spineless sneak Major Wood was put in charge of affairs here and that to the persecution of my supporters he brought not only the whole influence of the police force, the Police Magistrate, then acting Captain Wroughton, but also of the Territorial Government then under his own control.*[41]

Congdon pursued his vendetta with the police through the editorial columns of the *Yukon World* – of course, anonymously. Major Ross Cuthbert, writing to Woodside, branded these attacks as abuse and lies which none could take seriously. He concluded,

> *It is incomprehensible that a man who has ever been the apple of discord here, and whose discreditable acts are pretty well known to the public, should still be able to occupy a vantage point at the expense of this same long suffering public from which to expel his venom to the disgust of the community.*[42]

Replying to this letter on 27 August 1906, Woodside referred to Congdon as the "has been," which indeed he was for the nonce. Woodside fancied that Laurier had reproved Congdon for his abuse of the police, for the last issue he had seen of the *Yukon World* had contained a laudatory article on the Royal North-West Mounted Police. Laurier had indeed taken cognizance of Congdon's vendetta, for as early as May 1906 he had informed Major Wood that he need not give the *World* the patronage of his office. But much worse than the ex-commissioner's vindictive pursual of the force was a series of snide and anonymous attacks which Laurier described to McInnes, Congdon's successor, as scurrilous, upon the character of Mrs. Wood, Major Wood's wife. Laurier could scarce bring himself to believe that "our friend Congdon" could stoop so low as to attack a lady.[43] In reply, McInnes told the prime minister in a letter of 19 June 1906 that the anonymous articles in the *Yukon World*, under the pseudonym "Dawson" were indeed the work of F. T. Congdon. But McInnes smoothed it over saying that the resentments from the 1904 election were aggravated by the rivalry between two leading families. In any case the *News* had just bought out the *World*, and so Congdon would no longer have a sounding board for his animosity. Congdon's administration, wrote McInnes, had been guilty of "many petty and ill-advised acts of administration, which were not calculated to cement our friends"[44]

The immediate aftermath of the election centred on the concern among Congdon's opponents that having been expelled through the front door he should return through the back; it was a foregone conclusion that a man of Congdon's manifest ability and determination would not accept defeat nor take it lying down. On the day before Christmas 1904, the *News* charged that "Tabs" in the council were scheming to reinstate their chief as commissioner, but in an article the following February, the *News* would not credit the astute Congdon with considering so foolhardy a move. On 3 June 1905, however, the *World* proclaimed Congdon's return as legal adviser under banner headlines. The mud, continued the *World*, with which Congdon had been bespattered by his enemies had not stuck.

Obviously Congdon's position under the new regime cannot have been pleasant. He wrote to Laurier in September 1905 that he did not like the new commissioner who, having announced his purpose of cleansing the Augean stables, was immensely popular. Congdon at this time was alone in Dawson, his wife and family being in Vancouver. He had been snubbed at McInnes' welcoming reception, not having received an invitation to the banquet.

On Congdon's departure from the territory in October 1907, the Yukon Liberal Association threw a banquet for Congdon at which he was presented with a gold watch and chain. His farewell address was both witty and eloquent, for Congdon had a considerable reputation as a speaker in public. He felt that the moral tone of the community had been denigrated.

> *While it is true that in no quarter and among no inconsiderable portion of our population has there at any time appeared any very serious danger of what Hamlet called "goodness growing to a pleurisy," yet I have often wondered whether we in Dawson are as a whole much worse than other men. We all came, not so long ago, from other places... Our characters had been largely formed before we reached here... Like Penn I believe that*

"We can never be the better for our religion if our neighbor be the worse for it.[45]

The editor of the *News* praised Congdon's wit, observed that his address revived no bitter memories, and was indeed one of the two best delivered in Dawson that year. The editor suggested that Congdon follow his erstwhile intention of writing a history of the territory and that "such a production from his pen would raise a far fairer monument to his memory than anything he has accomplished in the territory during the past."[46]

The ex-commissioner, however, was not to rest content with so academic a task; he still thirsted for power, and to power he would return. Congdon went out on the hustings in the hard-fought federal election of 1908-09, taking the field against three other candidates – Robert Lowe, supported by the *News*; Joseph A. Clarke, and George Black, whom the *Yukon World* egregiously dismissed with the observation that if elected he would prove a mere cipher in Ottawa. Black was to hold the Yukon's seat longer than any other member, in season and out of season, regardless of whether his own party (the Conservatives) were in power or not. Congdon attacked the Royal North-West Mounted Police, reported his sometime creature the *World*, as a vote-catching device. "If there is one thing I have accomplished and for which I claim the credit is the abolishment of the tyranny of the North-West Mounted Police."[47] This at least was consistent with his hostility to the police since the previous election. By 2 February 1909 Congdon was confirmed in his victory, with 908 votes as against 577 for his nearest competitor and future victor, George Black: 1904 had been avenged. His inveterate opponent, the *Dawson Daily News*, accepted his victory as the will of the people and wished him well.

The rest of the story on Frederick Tennyson Congdon, insofar as this paper is concerned, is soon told. He had not been long in the House ere even the *News* came round. Congdon contested the seat again in 1911 but was defeated by George Black. On this occasion, the *News* paid Congdon tribute: he had done much for the territory, and could be counted on to do yet more.

Ten years later found Congdon in law partnership with Elmore Meredith and J. A. Campbell in Vancouver. He corresponded with Mackenzie King on matters political. When he died in Ottawa on 13 March 1932, both Mackenzie King and George Black were to be seen in his lengthy funeral cortege. Passing in his seventy-fifth year, Frederick Tennyson Congdon was survived by one of his two sons, his daughter and a sister. He was buried from All Saints Anglican Church in Toronto and interred in Mount Pleasant Cemetery in that city.

It is difficult to assess Congdon, a figure of sharp contrasts, a man of considerable mental and academic ability, a polished speaker in the old classical style. He was known as one of the ablest members of the bar, an exacting and competitive profession. He contributed much in the public interest but his career as commissioner was marred by his ruthless and unscrupulous bid for power, and yet more perhaps by his vindictive campaigns of vilification following that setback. Few surely would contend that there was more on the negative side of the ledger than the positive. In a town where moral standards were freer than the Canadian norm, reflecting still a little of the frontier tradition, his personal life was above reproach. Certainly his descendants can take pride in his accomplishments and the Yukon's fourth commissioner rest easy in his grave.

William Wallace Burns McInnes

Congdon's successor was undoubtedly the most popular chief executive that the territory ever had, despite a mild propensity for the bottle. Following hard on the heels of Congdon, it would have been difficult for him not to court popularity.

The inimitable "Billy" McInnes was born in Dresden, Kent County, Ontario. In April of 1871, the son of the Honourable T. R. McInnes, some time lieutenant governor of British Columbia, the province to which McInnes was to return at an early stage in his career. Born of Presbyterian stock, McInnes exhibited few of the dreary earmarks of that persuasion. In fact, he had a mild but persistent addiction to the bottle; some of his political enemies and detractors even on occasion hinted of immorality. McInnes

7 Commissioner McInnes. (*Dawson Daily News, 8 July 1905.*)

was stockily built, a little under the average in height, full featured but not corpulent. He had a keen intellect with the gift of making quick, incisive decisions, a loud rollicking laugh and a convivial nature.

McInnes took his B.A. at Toronto University in 1889 at the comparatively early age of eighteen. He attended Osgoode Hall and was admitted to the bar of British Columbia in 1893 in his twenty-second year. He entered a law firm in Nanaimo, and in 1894 married Dorothea Young of Victoria. Politics drew him at an early age, but success in this field attended only his earlier years. He was returned for the federal seat representing Vancouver in the great Liberal sweep of 1896. But in 1900 he forsook the federal field for the provincial, and from 1900 to 1903 sat for Vancouver in the legislature. He entered the cabinet of the Prior ministry, holding the office of president of the council for a week, followed by the portfolios of provincial secretary and minister of education from 1 December 1902 to the following May, when he resigned owing to disagreement with the ministry. This was really the end of his political career, for although he campaigned most strenuously in the Liberal interests on his return from the Yukon, he was never re-elected. Nevertheless he had made his mark, and of him the Honourable Joseph Martin said, "To my mind the finest speaker in Canada."[48]

A party supporter, Smith Curtis, blamed McInnes for contributing to the Liberal defeat in the 1903 election:

7

his letter to Laurier of 13 October is barely legible, but the writer expostulates what a disaster would befall the party should McInnes ever be chosen as party leader. Laurier's comment is revealing. "With regard to young McInnes, I know that he has a great deal of ability. I know likewise that he is a little skittish, but I never had any reason to think so ill of him as you do."[49] It may have been that Curtis was not alone in his disapproval of the able young lawyer. In any case, by March of 1905 McInnes was earnestly soliciting Laurier for the Yukon commissionership: it was important, he told the Prime Minister, that a westerner have the office and that he had the support of the Liberal associations of Vancouver, Victoria and Nanaimo. Laurier replied that he could scarcely encourage him because he preferred that he stick with politics. But before the end of the month McInnes was pressing his suit once more. He wanted, he wrote, to leave political life, in which he had toiled both hard and successfully, in favour of the Yukon commissionership. This he definitely preferred to a seat on the bench because he would not later be shelved. If he could have the job, he promised to resign after three years and return to the political field.

> *I feel that it is the opportunity of a life time to recover myself and prove myself worthy of your confidence – accordingly, & because I know my wish is in complete accord with the West, I again commend it to your favourable consideration.*[50]

His persistency was rewarded for he received the appointment by Order in Council,[51] approved 27 May 1905.

The appointment was popular in the Yukon. Although an outsider, McInnes was known as a man of forceful character, a good administrator, of firm convictions and having personal magnetism. Surely he would initiate the reforms so sorely needed in the territory and re-introduce sound government free of the machinations which had been so much a feature of the Congdon regime. The *Yukon World* lauded the appointment as being just what the territory so sorely needed, and suggested a cessation of party strife until the new commissioner had had time to settle in; this was scouted by the opposition *News*. On the contrary, the new appointee should be apprised at the outset of the wrongs under which the territory had laboured; if he failed to secure redress, he could then never complain that he had not been informed. McInnes must be warned of the machinations of the grafters, for while their activity and spoilation continued, there could be no concord in the territory.

McInnes was expected aboard the steamer *Dawson* on 3 July 1905 in the early evening. Government House had been thoroughly cleaned from cellar to attic and in a degree refurnished. McInnes' wife and two children would follow a little later on the *Whitehorse*. On arrival in Dawson, said the *News*, McInnes was clad in a black suit of good quality with a white waistcoat and a sack coat, white shirt with a standing collar, and was carrying a pair of kid gloves. "Gazing keenly through his gold-rimmed spectacles, he scrutinized all before him. He was awake."[52] He was indeed, and wasted no time in announcing that he had come to make a clean sweep and that nothing would deter him from a task long overdue.

McInnes was impressed by his very cordial reception. A few days after his arrival he was tendered a welcoming banquet in the Arctic Brotherhood Hall which the *News* described as "the most splendid banquet in the history of the North." At the head table sat Major Wood, the much maligned commandant of the Mounted Police, Justice Macaulay, J. T. Lithgow and Thomas O'Brien (both members of the Yukon council and the latter president of the Liberal Association). About 200 guests sat down to dine that evening. And indeed McInnes did not disappoint them.

> *Closely associated with the civil service and their political affairs is the question of elections. On the outside the people have come to regard the politics of the Yukon as rather picturesque.* (Loud laughter.) *We have read some peculiar items in connection with election matters up here. I have been a politician myself, and I used to consider that I was on to a few of the ropes, but there were wrinkles introduced into politics here that were never tried in my province. Now, gentlemen, to be serious, the individual must be allowed to give a free man's vote.*[53]

The following day the *News* broke forth in banner headlines.

> SWEEPING REFORMS ANNOUNCED FOR THE YUKON *New Commissioner Promises to Remedy the Great Evils that Have Cursed the Klondike.*
>
> A new star has risen in Yukon. *Yukon's emancipation proclamation was announced last night. It came from*

Governor William Wallace Bruce McInnes. Like William the Conqueror and Wallace and Bruce of old – whose significant names he bears – the new commissioner enunciates the principles of glorious conquest for a struggling land.[54]

In his address delivered at the aforementioned welcoming banquet, the new commissioner firmly proclaimed the principle that civil servants must keep clear of politics.

It is fortunately the recognized rule throughout Canada that civil servants should take no active part in politics. It is honoured in the observance and not in the breach. It is good enough for all parts of Canada, and it must certainly be good enough for the Yukon Territory. [Loud applause].

Accordingly, Mr. President, and gentlemen, whatever may have been the rule in the past, the civil servants for the future will abstain from political action.[55]

This declaration, promising an end to the malpractices of the Congdon régime, brought forth a wild burst of enthusiasm and prolonged applause. Further planks in his platform included greater popular representation on the council; resource development; the administration to eschew party strife; unreserved support for Yukon's member, Dr. Thompson, and the bogey of annexation of the territory to British Columbia laid to rest. Clearly the McInnes régime stood solidly on the platform of reform. Though his tenure was to be short, Billy McInnes fulfilled all expectations.

On 13 July 1905, Government House threw open its doors on the occasion of a gala reception accorded a visiting delegation of the American Institute of Mining Engineers. The residence was profusely decorated with flowers and plants from the spacious gardens and greenhouse. Visitors were received in the drawing-room by the commissioner and his lady, as well as Dr. Raymond, the guest of honour; an officer of the Royal North-West Mounted Police announced each guest. A buffet supper was laid out in the dining room.

On the same day, 13 July, Congdon wrote to Laurier observing that he had been excluded from both the banquet and the reception. But he had urged his friends to support McInnes and refrain from criticism. Replying on 28 July, Laurier wrote that he had urged McInnes on his departure from Ottawa to be strictly impartial in all his dealings. He had hopes that McInnes would succeed in pacifying the territory, but only time would tell whether his expectations would be fulfilled. He would need the support of every Liberal in the territory, and he trusted that Congdon would play his part. Congdon had intimated that McInnes would not receive the wholehearted support of the party.[56]

McInnes himself assured Laurier on 24 July that the whole territory was solidly backing his government, but that many of their friends had been alienated by "a series of acts incredibly petty and unpolitic. This condition can easily be improved by my discouraging factional strife, administering on good business principles."[57] On 21 August Laurier replied that he was very well pleased with the start McInnes had made in the Yukon. He confessed himself bewildered by the party strife which had split the party in the territory, but he had every confidence that McInnes would set things to rights. In September McInnes wrote to Laurier that his first council session had been conducted harmoniously, the business put through with dispatch. He also noted that the territory was free of racial or religious strife, having in mind no doubt the agitation over the separate school issue in the new provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta, lately carved from the North-West Territories.

A facetious comment by the *News* that the federal authorities had blundered into appointing an honest man as chief executive in the territory was taken all too seriously by the *World*, whose editor on 13 August put a perverse interpretation on it.

The cowardly, contemptible vulture that would slur the character of the prime minister and of the men who are dearest to all Canadians and insinuate that their reason for sending Mr. Innes here was because of their belief that he was a dishonest man – a mistake found out too late – is about the rawest thing the territory has had yet to suffer.[58]

Up to this time in the Klondike, miners working for others – men who had failed to strike it rich themselves and hence were reduced to labouring for their better-heeled and shrewder contemporaries – were often in a bad way. Should the employer himself fail, the employee might well find himself at the end of the season whistling for his wages. The labourers' wages were about the last charge on an employer's estate. George Black, a future com-

8 W. W. B. McInnes leaving Dawson presumably in November 1906. (*Public Archives of Canada.*)

8

missioner and then on the council, set himself to correct this evil which victimized the underdog. His solution was the Miners' Lien Law, which he himself drew up and shepherded through council. This legislation provided guarantees for employees working in the gold-fields, affirming that the labourer was indeed worthy of his hire and that his wages should never be in jeopardy. The passage of the bill through council established a precedent. Deadlock ensued, whereupon the commissioner cast his vote in favour of the bill, securing its passage. This was the first occasion on which a commissioner had intervened in favour of a popular measure. The Miners' Lien Bill became law on Dominion Day, 1906.

Early in December 1905, the council began work on a new mining code which McInnes himself took to Ottawa in February of the following year. The commissioner saw water, transportation and fuel as the three crucial factors in the future of the territory. An adequate supply of water was needed for mining operations, on which the whole economy of the territory chiefly depended.

McInnes had the knack of tempering justice with mercy. Three officials suspended for peculation and awaiting dismissal were reinstated, with loss of pay during their period of suspension. McInnes advised Laurier that the full penalty need no longer be exacted, since the public now had confidence in the integrity of the administration.

The levée held New Year's Day, 1906, at the residence was declared one of the most lavish in the territory's history.

Before leaving for Ottawa in February with his family, McInnes announced a reduction in the ranks of the civil service and a simplification of work procedures. While in Ottawa, McInnes recommended a reduction of the Mounted Police from the present 200-man force in the Yukon to a bare 35, effecting a savings of some $350,000. The territory was quiet and law abiding, hence a much smaller force would suffice. McInnes also favoured putting the police on a strictly civilian basis without the semi-military trappings. Whether his motives were based on economy or whether he had inbibed from Congdon a resentment of the pretensions of the force is not apparent. By mid-summer a number of the famous and elite force had submitted their resignations.

On his arrival in Vancouver aboard the *Amur* en route to Ottawa, McInnes expressed confidence in the economic future of the Yukon, going so far, according to the *Vancouver News Advertiser*, as to predict a future prosperity eclipsing that of 1898. He referred to the Yukoners as the "flower of the West." While in Ottawa, McInnes conferred with Laurier on policy measures which met with the prime minister's approval. Obviously the government had fences to mend in the Yukon and McInnes was setting about it with a will. Laurier expressed as much in writing to Congdon on 2 April 1906. The proposed reduction in the number of territorial officials, he wrote, would obviously hurt some unavoidably; he nonetheless had complete confidence in the commissioner's sense of justice and fair play.[59]

By summer of 1906 much apprehension had developed in the administration building, with many of the officials not knowing where they stood. But the commissioner was in no hurry to lower the axe. Interviewed by the *Dawson Daily News* (which was very much in favour of cutting and thinning the ranks of the civil service), McInnes put a light touch to the proceedings.

This is the way many of the boys of the civil service are arguing (that the commissioner get it over with). *But Governor McInnes says the blade is resting serenely in the soft red plush box, and that a little time is needed. Then he laughs that fine big explosive laugh that is infectious, and reaches for the smoke box.*[60]

The ills of the Yukon called for drastic measures, and without doubt an inflated civil service, which had been made the tool of the previous administration, must needs expect to suffer. McInnes had very much the iron hand in the velvet glove.

In the words of an old saw, one cannot make an omelette without breaking eggs. The drastic measures called for made enemies for the commissioner within a party already riven asunder before his arrival on the scene. One wonders, in reading the charges made by the Yukon Territorial Liberal Association (later repudiated) in July 1906, whether the critics were striking at the commissioner's weakest point. Obviously there was smoke, but was there fire? A set of condemnatory resolutions submitted by this body on 25 July accused McInnes of public immorality and drunkenness. In fact, the document accuses him of "frequently exhibiting himself in public in a condition of disgusting drunkenness."[61] In forwarding the submission to Ottawa, McInnes denied its allegations as ridiculous, pointing to the success of his administration. These charges, he said, were lies generated by political partisans. C. H. Wells, President of the Yukon Territorial Liberal Association, wrote to Laurier on 13 August 1906 without reserve:

> *This man McInnes is despised by every decent man in the country. His vulgarity, his insincerity, his rank dishonesty, his disregard of every interest but his own, his open drunkenness and his notorious immorality have made him a stench in the nostrils of the community. Is it a pleasing spectacle and one likely to create profound respect for authority to see a policeman dragging to the guardroom a poor man who has imbibed too freely and who pays the penalty by conviction in the police court, and to see a police team draw up in front of a dance hall from which is brought His Honour the Commissioner in a state of drunkenness to be driven home by the guardians of law and order?*
>
> *Is it a spectacle to be approved to see the Commissioner of the Territory and the Assistant-Commissioner of the Royal North-West Mounted Police both in a barroom in a drunken brawl in which the former is knocked unconscious and the latter hurled ignominiously through the window?*[62]

Rhetorical questions, these, but demanding an answer. Laurier's reply to Wells is not in hand, and research at time of writing has not uncovered it. It is inferred from subsequent correspondence that Laurier considered the charges had some, but slight, substance, being grossly exaggerated. Perusal of the two Dawson papers of the time uncovered no scandalous misdemeanors on the part of the commissioner which, had there been any real substance to Well's charges, would have made headlines.

On 21 August 1906 Laurier wrote a mild letter of reproof to McInnes, referring to a letter he had received from an undisclosed correspondent, concluding with,

> *I am led to the conclusion by previous correspondence, confirmed by this letter, that you may have forgotten yourself....You have given me up to the present time complete satisfaction and I would regret more than I can say that you would now alter your course.*[63]

To this McInnes made a complete denial.

> *I am astonished at the statements contained in the letter sent you, a copy of which you kindly forwarded to me.*
>
> *There is not a syllable of truth in the description of the manner of my leaving on the steamer. This I can happily verify by a large number who came to the boat to see me on business and honor me with an "au revoir".*
>
> *However, my dear chief, of this you can be certain, I will not hereafter give you even the most remote cause for any worry or misgivings on this score.*[64]

For what it is worth, so notorious a moralist as the Reverend John Pringle, who had been making capital out of charges of widespread immorality in the Yukon which lost nothing in the telling, completely exonerated McInnes of any scandal.

More to the point, in the New Year, after McInnes had actually left the territory, Laurier was able to inform him that a petition had been received from the Yukon Liberal Association charging that the former missive condemning McInnes on sundry charges was a hoax, no doubt emanating from unscrupulous political foes. The second document exonerated McInnes of all charges. McInnes' acts nevertheless became the subject of a House of Commons inquiry, but unfortunately the report of the Commons committee was never printed.[65] The terms in which Laurier expressed himself on McInnes' resignation lead to the conclusion that the charges were not substantiated.

> *It is my duty as well as it is my pleasure to convey to you the sincere appreciation which the Government feels for the manner in which you have discharged your duties in the important position which has been entrusted to you.*[66]

It may have been in anticipation of his resignation and departure from the territory that arrangements were in train late in September 1906 for Mrs. McInnes and the children to winter in Honolulu, far from the ice-bound Klondike. On 29 September the commissioner played host in his residence to two of his staff, Nelson P. MacDonald and Mary McQue. The palatial residence was on this occasion the scene of a wedding, perhaps the last function to take place in the original Government House, for the embellishment of which no expense had been spared. The commissioner was in jovial spirits and "the wedding supper the most joyous Dawson has seen."[67] A turkey supplied by the California Market was the main item on the bill of fare, very much a luxury in 1906, and nowhere more so than in Dawson.

On 8 November McInnes was wined and dined at what the *News* described as "the greatest and most enthusiastic and harmonious banquet ever given in Yukon"[68] on the eve of his departure for Ottawa. He told the gathering that internecine strife had been at the root of their troubles and that he had sought to provide a clean, fair administration in order that concord and stability might be restored. The mining of gold was still the basis of the economy, and the security of the miners' titles its prime requisite; this the new mining code had secured. He foresaw great prosperity for the future.

But within a fortnight rumours were rife that "Billy" was trifling with a return to politics, with an alleged offer to assume the leadership of the British Columbia Liberals. The *News* admitted that the rumours had been persistent, but McInnes had rejected the offer while on the coast although he may have accepted it at the behest of party leaders once in Ottawa. In any case, McInnes' resignation as commissioner of the Yukon Territory was submitted to the prime minister on 31 December 1906. His valedictory pronounced by the *Dawson Daily News* reflected the changing circumstances of the Yukon. "His talents were too much in demand elsewhere to be buried in Yukon, which, after all, is a very small part of the Dominion, and hardly a fitting range for a gentleman of his calibre."[69] Had he only been a man 20 years older, perhaps he would have been content to serve out his career in Dawson, but as it was, the smell of battle on the hustings of British Columbia had been too much for one of his active and combative temperament.

The passing of McInnes from the scene and the reforms he had initiated marked the close of the turbulent phase of the Yukon's history. Its passing was marked also by an accident all too common in the early history of Dawson. Shortly after noon on Boxing Day, 26 December 1906, fire broke out in the commissioner's residence which was finally brought under control by eight in the evening. The residence was unoccupied at the time, the McInnes family having left more than a month before. The house was closed for the season and under the surveillance of a caretaker, who was not on the premises at the time of the outbreak. Damage was estimated at $75,000. The foundation and the walls were intact. McInnes lost some personal effects left in the house, including a sealskin coat worth over $1,200. The cause of the fire was unknown. In her memoirs entitled *My Seventy Years* published in 1938, Mrs. Martha Louise Black, wife of the last commissioner and chatelaine from 1912 to 1916, wrote that rumour had it that the fire was the work of an arsonist who had first broken into and burglarized the house, then resorted to arson to destroy the evidence.[70] A three-man commission instituted to investigate failed to determine the exact cause of the fire, which had started on the ground floor in or near the front hall. They found that the hot air conductors were not properly insulated. In common with most of the public buildings in Dawson at the time, the electrical wiring left something to be desired.[71] Their report recommended that in future, in the absence of the commissioner, the house be left unheated, and in any case that the caretaker should be in continuous attendance when the fires were on.

On 19 January 1907, $25,000 was allotted to the estimates for the restoration of Government House. But the polished Douglas fir in the hallways and interior was not to be replaced; wallpaper would serve. In like manner the ornate trim along the gables and verandahs was not to be replaced. A comparison of Figures 9 and 11 clearly indicates that the restored residence had a plainer appearance; some might say in better taste, perhaps also more in keeping with the declining affluence of the territory. The restored residence, still a commodious and for Dawson imposing structure, somehow better befitted the changed circumstances.

McInnes stands out as an incisive reformer, warm-hearted and of more flamboyant disposition than his predecessors. He had been commissioned to right the wrongs of the territory, and this he had done in his 18 months in office. One senses that his minor peccadillos were worked for all they were worth by his political enemies. He was very much what is termed a good fellow, in contrast to his moralizing successor. But with McInnes the Dawson of mining-camp days has receded well below the horizon.

Fresh from the Yukon, McInnes hurled himself into the broil of British

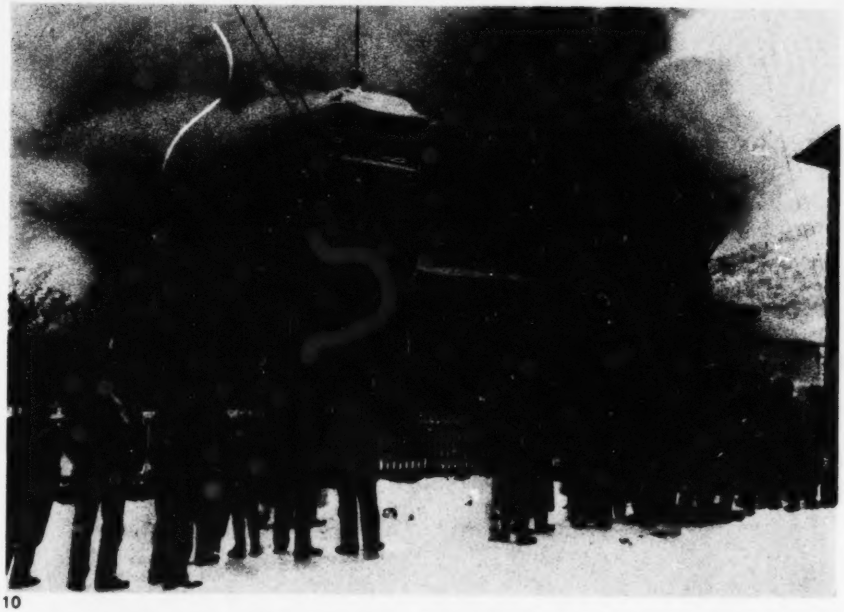
9 Commissioner's residence; note "ballot boxes."
(*Public Archives of Canada.*)

9

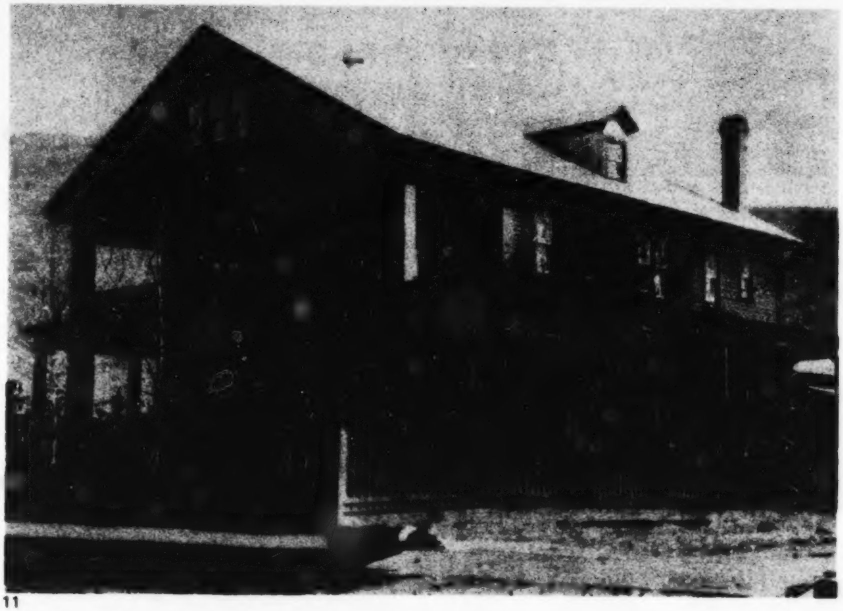
10 Commissioner's residence burning on Christmas Day, 1906. (*Public Archives of Canada.*)
11 Commissioner's residence, presumably as restored after the fire. (*Public Archives of Canada.*)

Columbia politics, running in the provincial election of 1907 for the Vancouver riding. He conducted a vigorous campaign in which he did not spare himself, but he was defeated. According to the *News*, McInnes dominated the campaign, polarizing the voters either for or against him. The Liberals won only 10 seats in the 37-seat House. But then he had been assigned the Vancouver riding, said the *News*, which was known as a Tory stronghold. Some residents to the south thought that McInnes had come to them at financial sacrifice, but Yukoners knew better. The $12,000 per annum with living allowance was not adequate for a commissioner in Dawson, alleged the editor, so much so that honest commissioners were out of pocket. A very much smaller income in Nanaimo, for example, living in one's own house, would serve better than the seemingly munificent income of the Yukon commissioner.

McInnes declined an offer of the post of Deputy Minister of Mines in favour of a one-year contract with Guggenheim of New York who had acquired mining interests in the Yukon. McInnes' salary was set at $25,000 per annum. It was said that he owed the position to his knowledge of the Yukon and particularly of the mining code, to which he had contributed so singly. Again in 1908 McInnes contested Vancouver for the Liberals and was again defeated. In the spring of 1909 he was appointed a county judge in Vancouver. In replying to his letter thanking him for the appointment, Laurier made evident that it hinged on patronage. "You owe me no thanks whatever; we simply carried out the wishes of our friends in British Columbia."[72]



10



11

A few items on McInnes got into print in later years. One concerned what must have been at the time an embarrassing incident on a Vancouver street corner. McInnes was talking with an acquaintance when a police constable ordered him to move on, in compliance no doubt with some by-law about loitering. Judge McInnes protested that he was not blocking traffic and that he had the right to stand and converse with a friend. On this the constable, no toady to authority, called a patrol wagon to take the judge into custody. Cooler counsels prevailed, however, with the arrival on the scene of a second constable, and no further action was taken. McInnes, somewhat nettled, said that he would take no action against the policeman but added that if the incident impressed on the chief of police the need to weed out the unsuited from his force, then he himself was glad of the experience. The crowd attracted by the street corner altercation strongly favoured McInnes.[73]

McInnes served eight years as a county court judge in Vancouver. He earned a reputation, as in the Yukon, for justice tempered with mercy. His judgements were quick and to the point. He showed leniency toward first offenders even when charged with serious offences, if there were indications of contrition or regret; but hardened criminals received draconian sentences. In February of 1913, for example, he sentenced a man convicted of beating and robbing an Indian to 5 years imprisonment and 20 lashes, half the latter to be applied at the commencement of the sentence and the remainder, as a terrible reminder, on the first anniversary of the offence.

Again the siren call of politics lured the ever sanguine McInnes to the hustings. He resigned from the bench as a senior county court judge on 10 September 1917 in order to contest Comox-Alberni in the Liberal interest. This was the highly charged federal election of 1917, fought on the conscription issue and Borden's appeal for national unity on non-party lines. McInnes was defeated by the Unionist candidate, H. S. Clements, and this appears to have been his final essay in politics.[74] McInnes had campaigned on an anti-conscription platform on the basis that wealth, and not just men, should be conscripted. Conscription was not necessary, contended McInnes; Canada had raised 440,000 men already by voluntary enlistment, a formidable levy from a country of seven to eight million. He contended that the taking of the king's shilling by no means was a warrant that a man was not a slacker, a time-server, seeking a safe billet far from the firing line where he ran no more risk than a civilian. He argued that promotion in the army should be based strictly on merit, and not social connections, antecedents, or what was vulgarly known as "pull." The army, contended the candidate, was too snobbish and aristocratic in sentiment. He cited a recent incident in a local club when a group of officers on the premises protested the presence of some non-commissioned ranks who had ventured therein. On this issue McInnes revealed himself as a true egalitarian, and in this respect was perhaps ahead of his time. A country such as Canada or the United States, of course, with its fluid class lines, would never condone an officer caste such as was only too evident in Europe at the time. Nevertheless, a distinction was made between commissioned and non-commissioned ranks which was observed beyond the confines of camp or barrack square. But to McInnes, even in 1917, such distinctions were odious.

> *Snobbery must be cut out. The spirit shown by some officers quite recently in a local aristocratic club when they raised a great rumpus because a few privates came into the club will damn any recruiting. We must popularize and democratize the army in the fullest sense by making it a place where men will be treated like men.*[75]

McInnes' later career is shrouded in obscurity at time of writing. He was in law practice as late as 1922 in Vancouver, but the place, time and circumstances of his death are unknown. He was an attractive, commanding and amiable creature with enough of the more generous failings and foibles to keep him human.

With his resignation and departure from Dawson, the last vestiges of the good old days had gone. Dawson now wore very much the aspect of a settled Canadian community. Mining was its prime industry and the basis of its economy, but henceforth the town entered an unmistakable decline. By 1908 its population had shrunk to one-tenth the 20,000 to 25,000 of 1898. But for a time the territory continued with the outward appearance of the days of its youth.

Alexander Henderson

The Yukon's sixth commissioner, Alexander Henderson, was born in Oshawa, Canada West, in 1861. His father Alexander hailed from Caithness, and his mother, Grace Kilpatrick Henderson, from Paisley, Scotland. The boy was raised in the Presbyterian faith and it is evident that he acquired a reforming and rather Puritan ideal from his background. His father established an iron foundry in Oshawa, and so no doubt Henderson came from a comfortable home.

Alexander took his schooling in Oshawa, then went on to the University of Toronto where he proved no mean student. In 1884 he took his B.A. with honours in metaphysics, logic and civil polity. He shone equally in sports, playing quarterback for the varsity team, as well as lacrosse and some baseball. He became so proficient with the rifle that he was included on the Canadian team that went to Bisley in 1891. He fits indeed the perhaps banal description of an "all-rounder." At the time of his appointment to the commissionership he was described in the *Dawson Daily News* as of medium stature, lithe build, with blue eyes, a brown moustache, and a buoyant step. He was to maintain his physical fitness and remained a man of very moderate habits.

Henderson had a much less pronounced personality than his two predecessors and was of a cautious and prudent disposition to the extent, indeed, that he appears rather colourless by contrast. He was, however, an able administrator and gave satisfaction during his tenure of office, except perhaps among the freer, less inhibited spirits who must have regretted the disappearance of the free-wheeling and rollicking past.

Henderson studied law and early in his career took himself off to British Columbia where, but for his term in the Yukon, he spent the rest of his life. He became a solicitor in that province in 1891 at the age of 30, and a barrister in 1902. In 1895 he married Susan Crawford and settled in New Westminster. He engaged in a law practice there until 1896, when he was appointed an agent in the Department of Justice for the mainland. Two years later he was elected to the legislature of New Westminster. The following year found him the attorney general in the Semlin administration, but he went out of office with them in 1900. In 1901 he was appointed to the bench, county court of Vancouver. In 1907 he resigned his judgeship in order to contest Vancouver City in the legislature, but was defeated and returned to his law practice. During these years he was active in the local militia with the rank of captain in the 2nd Battalion, 5th Regiment of the Canadian Artillery. On his appointment to the commissionership he was transferred to the reserves with the rank of major.

Speaking in Dawson in February, 1907, the Yukon's Savonarola, the Reverend John Pringle, called for one who would cut down the groves and break the idols.

But give us a clean, sane, upright man who will frown upon vice in official and private life alike, whose life itself will be a rebuke to the drunkenness, lust, gambling and graft which have been our shame; who has high moral ideals and the courage to move persistently if slowly towards their realization, and he will effect the contentment of the great mass of our people as to moral and material interests alike.[1]

If the reverend gentleman represented the sentiments of the territory, its prayer was to be granted. Henderson's appointment was confirmed on 17 June 1907.[2] The *Vancouver World* first announced the appointment on 1 July 1907, lauding the choice of a westerner (though not by birth) with the requisite legal background. The paper noted, however, that the new appointee suffered the handicap of following in the wake of the strongest and most popular commissioner in the territory's history.

Standing on the hurricane deck of the steamer *Whitehorse* as it docked at Dawson on the afternoon of 14 July, Henderson with bared head sounded an almost ecclesiastical note.

We have undoubtedly a country that is rich, but let us not measure it entirely by its miles of territory, its ounces of gold or its bushels of wheat that it will produce; or its material power to feed and clothe the body; let us take a loftier attitude of view—a view of those things which also tend to the upbuilding of the soul.[3]

The new commissioner was to live up to his programme for a moral reform and cleansing of a territory still

12 Hon. Alexander Henderson, K.C., Commissioner of the Yukon. (*Public Archives of Canada.*)

12

with vestiges of a lustier past, for it was during his administration that the last dance hall, the "Floradora" closed its doors, indeed the end of an era. Henderson had been in Dawson barely three days when he reaffirmed his policy of working for the moral reform of the Yukon, and that he would begin with an attack on the dance halls. He was to be as good as his word.

Mrs. Henderson was expected in Dawson in the third week of July with their one daughter. The official residence would not be ready for occupancy for more than a year, and so accommodation had to be found. Arrangements were made to rent Judge Macaulay's house for $200 per month, fully furnished. When the commissioner vacated the house the following year, an altercation arose between the judge and the Department of Justice concerning articles allegedly lost or damaged, productive of a considerable correspondence. Certainly the Hendersons were not the type of tenants one might suspect of holding boisterous parties, let alone of purloining anything for themselves, but the justice was not easily mollified.

Henderson was tendered a banquet of welcome in the Arctic Brotherhood Hall at which the former commissioner spoke. Henderson was very cautious in forecasting future policy until he had reconnoitred the ground, but expressed the wish to meet everyone in the territory–"because, after all, we are not so many."[4] Who would have imagined a chief executive making such a statement a few years before!

But if Henderson was slow to commit himself on practical matters of administration before he had quite familiarized himself with them, his moral reform campaign was launched with despatch. On the afternoon of 29 August 1907, his dance-hall legislation was approved by council, with Henderson himself voting against amendments proposed to allow the proprietors a little grace. The repeal of their licenses, once approved by Parliament, meant the end of the last relics of the frenetic and fabulous days of the gold-rush, when drinks and girls were paid for with gold-dust and fortunes changed hands at the spin of a wheel or the turn of a card. The "Floradora," the last survivor of that gay time in the late nineties, closed its doors on 18 January 1908, although it was subsequently allowed to reopen until the end of June. There was no place in the staid Dawson of the post-McInnes era for these gaudy and plush establishments given over to lighter entertainment, including liquor and sex.

Early in the new year, Henderson proclaimed to his erstwhile Jeremiah that he as commissioner was in dead earnest in enforcing the laws for the suppression of all wickedness and vice. Complaints from whatever quarter would be thoroughly investigated, with no shirking of the responsibility.

> *I impressed upon those charged with enforcement of the laws that they should proceed upon the principle that enactments were made to be obeyed and that I was prepared to accept the fullest responsibility for the instructions given. These officials know where I stand. I have made no secret of my position or policy in the matter.*[5]

In fact, Henderson now attacked Pringle himself for traducing the Yukon to gain publicity and perhaps political advantage. In this the commissioner was warmly supported by both Dawson's newspapers. The *World* pointed out that Henderson's letters clearly demonstrated that Pringle had never filed a complaint in Dawson, and that all his colourful statements had been made to outside newspapers, among which was the formidable Toronto *Globe*. Pringle's allegations reached the floor of the House. A statement from the commissioner dated 7 December 1907 flatly contradicted Pringle's assertions about the dance halls: their worst feature, said their executioner, was the inducement offered patrons to drink excessively and squander their money. The girls employed by these lavishly and ornately furnished establishments may often have fleeced befuddled patrons, but they were not prostitutes. Pringle's charges were also denied by ex-commissioner Congdon. On his arrival in Vancouver on 2 May 1908, Henderson denounced Pringle's testimony as a mere political gambit. He had originally conceived of the Presbyterian divine as being an ally of his against vice, but now as a bothersome troublemaker and unjust critic of the territory. Dawson, Henderson said, was as well-behaved as any other Canadian town. Having cleansed Dawson, the commissioner would proceed to defend her honour against sensation mongers.

Henderson did not relax his crusade. In 1908 he had placed at the disposal of the police a secret service fund to finance the obtaining of evidence to be used in prosecutions. This measure had the hearty support of both the prime minister and the minister of justice. But in writing to Laurier the following January (1909), Henderson admitted that evidence was too often hard to come by. He emphatically denied that prostitution was being tolerated in Dawson : this issue greatly troubled the conscience of the cities of the East. He supported his assertions by enclosing a memorial from the clergymen of Dawson adducing that the law was being enforced for the suppression of vice and the regulation of the liquor trade. In fact, stated the gentlemen of the cloth, the moral condition of Dawson was now greatly improved over that of a few years ago.[6] Laurier could not but concur in this, for the territory had become a source of embarrassment to the party in its lustier period, though not entirely, in the words of the old ballad, "from cigarettes, and whiskey and wild, wild women." Dawson had always, even from gold-rush days, been afflicted with the closed Sunday: the lid was now to be screwed down tight, for the commissioner announced in a letter dated 28 May 1908 that the Lord's Day Act was to be enforced immediately in the Yukon. If Dawson would not be godly, it would jolly well be quiet!

Alexander Henderson, in his administration of the territory, was not wholly concerned with moral rearmament though this was nearest his heart. He advocated railway access to other parts of Canada rather than sole dependency on the White Pass & Yukon, which terminated in American territory. Agricultural, coal and mineral lands would all undergo stimulating development from such a connection. The mining regulations also received further attention. Henderson in his quiet way had called a halt to further reductions in the territorial civil service : he had indeed informed the Minister of the Interior, Frank Oliver, that further cuts could not be made. The government's critic, the Honourable George E. Foster, received Oliver's assurances sceptically ; after all, Henderson lived with these people, had their interests at heart, and the government would have a long wait if anticipating any compliance from him. In fact, Foster doubted that Henderson had the courage to cut salaries or living allowances in line with government policy.

Henderson's administration was witness to a significant change in the constitution of the territory, embodied in the amendment to the Yukon Act[7] approved 20 July 1908 and to come into force on 1 May 1909. The vital feature of the Act was that the functions of commissioner and council were separated, the former retaining full executive authority and the latter restricted to a purely legislative function. The council was therefore to draft all legislation, but the commissioner held the power of approval or referral to the Governor in Council. The functions of the legislative and the executive authority were thus differentiated. The commissioner henceforth was to be, in effect, a one-man cabinet subject only to the council's voting of supplies. The second significant change represented the triumph of the democratic or popular principle, in that the council of 10 was made a wholly elective body to sit for three years. The franchise, as in the rest of the country, was restricted to 21-year-old males or over, of British descent or naturalized British subjects. It was the final measure in the transition from authoritarian to popular government. But, be it noted, the Yukon did not have responsible government for the commissioner was not responsible to council ; he served out his term, whether he had the support of the majority of the 10-man council or not. This, however, did not become a problem in the Yukon, for with the conversion of the Yukon council to a wholly elective body, the principal grievance in the territory was righted. Hitherto the council had been convened by the commissioner annually, sitting for a week to ten days ; in the future there were to be twice-yearly sessions, but that was not in Henderson's time.

At last in the summer of 1908 the commissioner's residence (and this title would seem henceforth to fit it better than Government House) underwent restoration, the sum of $21,929.30 being set aside in the estimates for the purpose. Although a commodious residence by any standards, the new residence lacked the elegance, and some might say the Victorian pretension (according to personal taste), of the earlier and original structure. The polished Douglas fir paneling in the halls and principal rooms was replaced with wallpaper, and the gables and eaves lacked the former elaborate trim. Doors and wainscoting were finished in black mahogany ; the main hall, study and dining-room were paneled in dark wood, and the drawing and reception rooms were finished in a green décor, with rugs to match. A dark red plush carpet was laid in the vestibule and up the main stairway, from whose landing orchestras serenaded the company on gala occasions. The old hot-air system had been found inadequate in Dawson's winter; hot water heating was installed in its stead, with gold-tinted radiators. The dining-room was lit by lamps of varied and rich design, as well as a central chandelier. A pair of French doors, opening from the drawing or the reception room, was included.[8] All in all, the restored residence was one of which the territory need not feel ashamed. The irony of it was that it was to be used for barely seven years, then to stand unoccupied for decades, and in the end to be put to a very utilitarian use.

The Hendersons moved into the restored and refurnished residence sometime in November, 1908. A reception in the nature of a house-warming was held on 2 December; open house was declared for all who cared to attend. Mrs. Henderson received in the drawing-room, assisted by Captain Richard Douglas of the Royal North-West Mounted Police. A three-piece orchestra was installed on the landing of the main staircase and several guests with better than average voices favoured the company with a few airs. The last of the guests left only at one o'clock, which in the Dawson of the reformed era was late.

In the summer of 1909, the Yukon was honoured by a visit by Governor General Earl Grey. The commissioner and his wife moved out of the residence in order that it be given up entirely to the vice-regal party. (A later commissioner intimated that he would be unwilling to do this: times were becoming more egalitarian.) Grey and his party arrived at Dawson the morning of 12 August. The following evening a reception was held at Government House between the hours of nine and eleven. Refreshments served included salad, punch, liquors, ice cream, cigarettes and cigars. A five-piece orchestra was in attendance.[9] Robert Service, now at the height of his fame as the balladeer of the Klondike (though he had been in Mexico at the time of the gold-rush), was invited to the reception or banquet as a guest of honour. Service, apparently careless of the social graces, failed to answer the formal invitation. This distressed the conveners of the occasion, and an emissary was dispatched to summon the poet to the board. Service made up handsomely for his gaffe by presenting an autographed copy of his *Songs of a Sourdough*, which was on everyone's lips at the time, to Lady Sybil, the governor general's daughter.[10]

Henderson went to Ottawa in the winter of 1909-10, arriving back in Dawson on 17 March. He announced plans to differentiate clearly between federal and territorial office work in the interests of greater efficiency. He had plans to improve Dawson's streets and also the roads to the creeks or mine workings. The school heating system and the postal service would also receive his attention. Nothing wildly exciting, perhaps, but practical measures at which none would cavil.

In June of 1910 the commissioner and council clashed over a public service ordinance submitted by council. The issue devolved upon the appointment of a territorial treasurer by the authority of commissioner in council: Henderson contended that the authority was his alone. Appointments were his prerogative. When asked by council to telegraph a copy of the bill to the Department of Justice, he refused, saying that the department would not have time to deliberate on the measure this session. Asked whether the territorial court could rule in the matter, Henderson replied that it could not. In fact, he considered the measure *ultra vires* of the council, and left the chamber with a chilly "Gentlemen, I wish you good morning."[11] Henderson knew that he was on firm ground; that in seeking to meddle with appointments council was exceeding its authority. Although a quiet, unassuming personality, Henderson knew his business and could not be bluffed or cajoled. In this instance, as with several others in which the commissioner withheld assent, reserving the measures for decision by the governor in council, he was sustained.[12]

The Honourable Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior, paid the territory an official visit in July, 1910. He was entertained at the residence. He stayed but a day, arriving on the *Susie* on the nineteenth and departing on the *Selkirk* the following day.

In August Henderson toured the southern Yukon. He felt very encouraged over mining development in the

Whitehorse region, where there were extensive copper deposits.

The new year, 1911, saw the indefatigable Congdon again on the attack, his target now being the commissioner. Writing to Laurier on 12 January 1911, he castigated Henderson for his allegedly pusillanimous dithering on the school issue, ever a fruitful source of discord. In a letter to Laurier, Congdon expressed his contempt.

> *I know you will not suspect me of threatening. I am merely warning of a danger that Henderson is too lazy and worthless to avoid by facing in a manly fashion. He will work to save his own bacon. Sauve qui peut has always been his motto.*[13]

He had also some sharp words about George Black, a future commissioner then on the council.

On Sunday night, 23 April 1911, the commissioner delivered an address at St. Paul's Cathedral on a subject close to his heart on the occasion of the tercentenary of the King James Bible. Taking for his title "The Influence of the Bible on Civilization," the commissioner developed the rather dubious theme that the progress and the prosperity of the English-speaking people was attributable to Christianity, in which surely the King James Bible was a prime element. He contrasted European and North American civilization with that of China and Tibet which had progressed little in the course of 2,000 years. He then, yet more fulsomely, pointed to the great advances made among African and Polynesian peoples since the message of the Gospel had been brought to them. In 1911 faith in the superiority of the white race, despite the disturbing debacle of the Russo-Japanese War, had not been seriously shaken; it was still very much the age of far-flung colonial empire and the "white man's burden." There is every reason to believe that the commissioner's address that evening in Dawson went over well, for he could not have been expected to have an overly critical audience.

On 1 June 1911 Alexander Henderson announced his retirement, having served longer than any of his predecessors (four years). His tenure had witnessed the introduction of fully popular government; the transition in mining operations from individual ventures with pick and shovel to large-scale ventures with expensive and cumbersome machinery; and of Dawson from a town with a few vestiges of the mining camp of lustier days to a community differing little, other than in its remote location and high latitude, from other towns across the length and breadth of Canada. He had administered the territory economically. Though a life-long Liberal, he had scrupulously avoided partisanship in office. He had united ability with caution, or perhaps prudence is a better word.

A farewell presentation was made to Alexander Henderson on the balcony of the Hotel Alexandra at nine on the evening of 10 July. In his farewell address, Henderson cited the two principal needs of the territory as intelligent prospecting and cheaper transportation. Quoting Theodore Roosevelt, who on leaving the White House had exclaimed, "I have had a bully time," he concluded his resumé of all the sports and activities he had engaged in with, "so that if I have not had a bully time, I should like to have pointed out to me the man in the Yukon who has."[14] His farewell banquet had been canceled because of an outbreak of smallpox. The "quiet" commissioner left Dawson with his wife and daughter Grace on the river boat *Canadian* a few days later, to take up residence in Vancouver.

Henderson entered law practice in Vancouver, joining the firm of Tulk and Bray with offices in the newly built Canada Life Building on Hastings Street. He was known in his profession as one well-versed in mining, and all branches of civil, criminal and commercial law. His name appears in the *Vancouver Directory* as late as 1922, but from that point, as in the case of his predecessor, we lose trace of him. He had been an able, honest, if not a colourful commissioner. But then the territory had had its fill of the flamboyant and forceful type. The Yukon was now running in quieter waters.

George Black

George Black, the last incumbent in the office of commissioner per se, had as much title to be called a Yukoner as anyone, having followed the "Trail of '98," as did his extraordinary wife, in every sense his equal in strength and courage and second to none among all the ladies of Government House.

George Black began his long life (just seven years short of a full century) in Woodstock, New Brunswick, in 1872. He came from United Empire Loyalist stock on both sides of the house. He had his schooling in Richibucto, then a little community near the Northumberland Strait. He went on to study law at Fredericton. But not for him some quiet solicitor's practice in gracious and residential Fredericton, nor even the bustling cities of Ontario. Lured to the goldfields near the Arctic Circle he set out, as did thousands upon thousands of others, for Eldorado. Presumably he made the ascent of that terrible pass (Chilkoot or White) to the remote interior where men were feverishly expending life and limb in the age-old quest for gold. He staked a "discovery" claim (so-called because it was the first in that immediate vicinity) on Livingstone Creek in 1899.

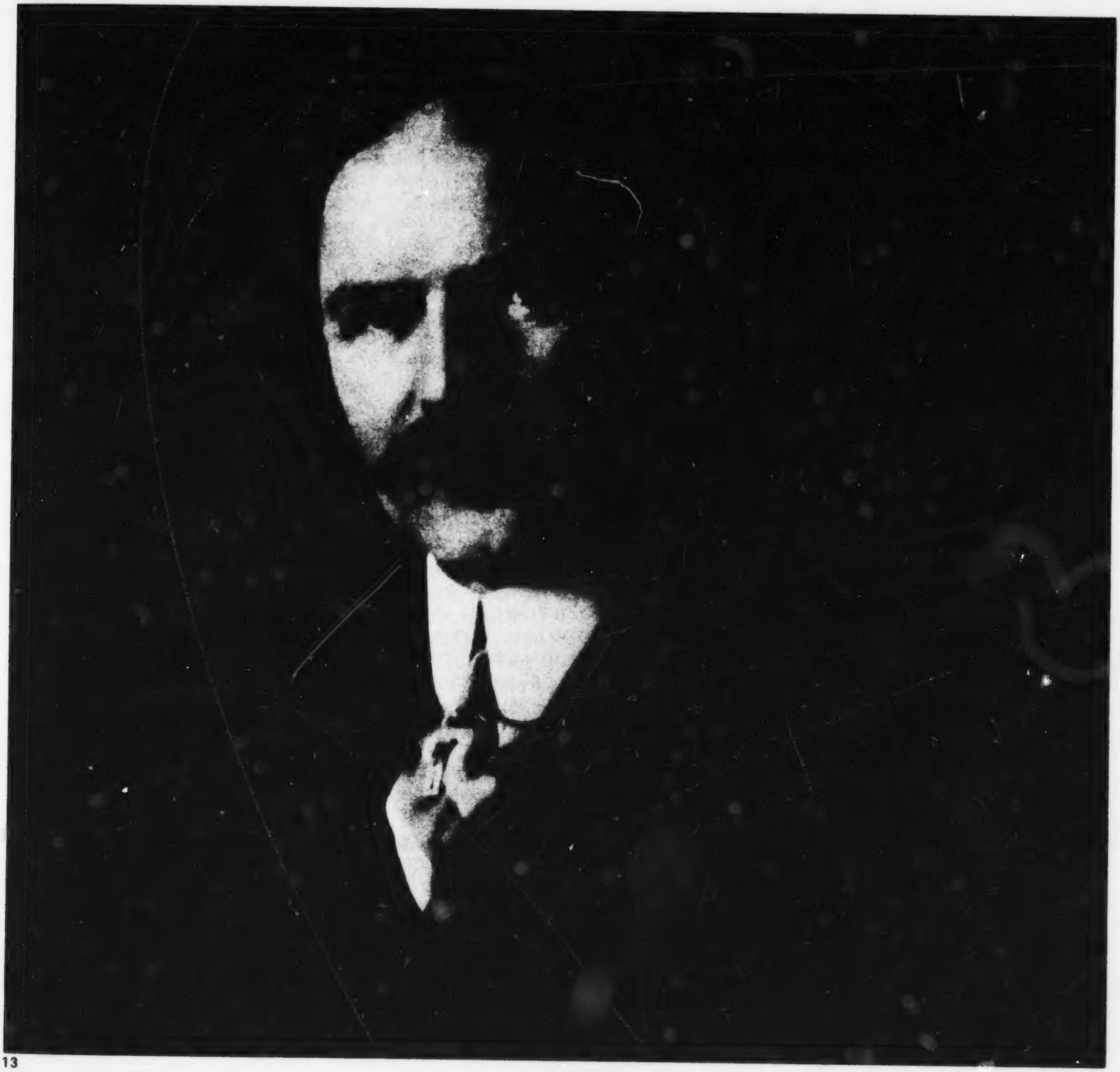
But Black at an early stage forsook panning and gigging for gold for the greater security of law practice, from which he gravitated, as have so many of the legal profession, into politics. Turning over his holdings to his partners, in 1901 he took passage to Dawson on a river boat by working his way as a deckhand. On arrival in Dawson it transpired that the charterers had no money to pay off the crew. Making a virtue of necessity, George Black turned to the practice of his profession in burgeoning Dawson, acting as counsel for a number of these unfortunate deckhands in the Admiralty Court of the Yukon. He first entered law practice with C. M. Woodworth of Vancouver, and later with his uncle, John Black.

George Black soon acquired a reputation as the leading criminal lawyer in the territory from which he turned to politics as an active opponent of the administration. He was a strong supporter of Dr. Alfred Thompson, contributing substantially to the latter's return as Yukon's first member. Black served three terms on the Yukon council, in which he was instrumental in drawing up and shepherding through council lien laws for the protection of loggers and miners. Too often stampeders who had failed in their quest for Eldorado and were forced to work for others in order to exist in what remained a high-cost economy, at clean-up time or the end of the season found themselves done out of their wages. Black's legislation ensured that the labourers' hire became the first charge on all estates, so the day labourer was assured of his wages in full, even should his employer go bankrupt.

Black's future wife, née Martha Louise Munger, was a woman of remarkable qualities of the timber of which pioneers are made. Six years older than her husband, Martha Black was one of those of whom it has been said, "Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn:" at three score and ten she had the vibrancy and spirit of a woman half her age. Born in 1866 in Chicago, the daughter of a well-to-do entrepeneur who had established a chain of laundries across the country, Martha was raised in comfortable circumstances ; she was educated at a convent school (although she herself was Protestant) by the Sisters of the Holy Cross, graduating in 1886. The following year she married her first husband, Will Purdy, by whom she had two sons.

In the year 1897 the news of the Klondike strike burst upon the world, then in a highly receptive state for such a bonanza. Among the thousands lured to the north were Martha and her husband, who formed a partnership with a friend to proceed to the Klondike. The party outfitted in Denver, then moved to their advance base, in a manner of speaking, in Seattle. At this point, the paths of husband and wife divided sharply and permanently. Will announced from San Francisco that he was abandoning the Klondike venture in favour of an opportunity in Hawaii. Unlike most women, or men for that matter, Martha held a steady course for the north. With her brother she ascended the Chilkoot Pass in that incredible summer of 1898 and arrived in Dawson on 5 August, at the very height of the stampede. Dawson then presented the never-to-be-forgotten spectacle of a tent-and-shanty town, since immortalized in the ballads of Robert Service, a bizarre community made up of itinerant adventurers from the four corners of the earth. Wealth acquired often overnight contrasted with indigence and death. Typhoid was an ever-present menace during the short hot summers, with the Klondike and Yukon rivers the sole

13 George Black, last full-fledged commissioner of the Yukon. (*Public Archives of Canada.*)



13

water supply; and in the long sub-Arctic winters, with their 18- to 20-hour nights, fire too often reduced the frame and log shanties to charred ruins. It was to this frontier town that Martha came in an advanced state of pregnancy, and on 31 January 1899 her third son was born in Dawson. She had already staked a number of claims on Excelsior Creek, one of the many tributaries of the Klondike. In 1899 her father arrived and persuaded her to return home; but the following year she was back in the Klondike in company with her eldest son. With two partners she opened a saw-mill, which she ran with a strength that many a man would envy, handling a recalcitrant foreman deftly and effectively[15]. In every sense she was as much a part of the heritage of the Yukon as was her future husband, both of whom had come in over the trail.

George and Martha met at some point in the frontier town in the early years of the century and were married at Mill Lodge, near Dawson, on 1 August 1904. Black took over his foster sons with a will, devoting as much time to them as if they were his own, teaching them the skills he had acquired from life in the mining camp—handling a canoe, shooting, fishing and general bush craft. Like Ruth of old, Martha Black adopted whole heartedly her husband's allegiance and his religion.

I am a firm believer in the principle that married couples, from the beginning, should be in complete harmony in religion, in country, and in politics. So immediately after my marriage, without compunction, I became an Anglican, an Imperialist, and a Conservative. Not only did I become a member of the Anglican Church, but I took an active part in the Women's Auxiliary, later being elected president, which position I held for a number of years.[16]

Martha Black recalled at one point in her memoirs an occasion in which an aggressive young matron, attempting to get a rise out of her, asked how she (an American) could qualify to become a member of the I.O.D.E. (Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire), to which the imperturbable first lady (as she then was) replied, by marrying George Black!

Meanwhile George Black was gaining political experience and was one of the more active members of the council. In the 1909 federal election, won by the former commissioner, F. T. Congdon, Black polled more votes than the other two candidates, demonstrating that already he was a force to be reckoned with on the hustings. Against so formidable and experienced an opponent he could take comfort in putting his defeat down to valuable experience for the future.

But before Black had launched himself on his long parliamentary career in which he was to hold Yukon's seat in season and out of season, he was first called to Government House, being appointed commissioner on 1 February 1912 by the Borden administration. It is not difficult to understand why Sir Robert's choice fell upon him: he was an able reformer, experienced councilman and staunch Conservative, thoroughly familiar with all aspects of the territory's affairs. His salary and expenses were the same as those of the previous incumbents—$6,000 per annum and $6,000 for expenses. This was, as has been observed hitherto, none too much in the Yukon for it was freely said that an honest commissioner, who entertained in the lavish fashion expected in the territory, would find himself out of pocket. A man as able and well-known as Black was bound to be popular following his quiet and unassuming predecessor, whom the *Prince Rupert News* rather unkindly described as "practically a stranger when he left there last year."[17]

The *Dawson Daily News*, for the past three years the town's sole daily, welcomed the appointment, referring to Black as "young, virile and progressive" and "the tribune of the people;"[18] shades of Joseph Howe! The commissioner and his wife arrived in Dawson, over the winter trail on 21 March, having been met as far out as Grand Forks by a party of over one hundred. Their rig was gaily decorated with flags and bunting. The banal everyday greetings, informal but sincere, were evidence that the newly appointed commissioner was well-known in the territory.

Hello, Mr. Commissioner
Hello, Mr. Administrator
Ah, there, George
Well, well, Fitz
How's Bill
How's it going, Jim
Glad to see you Bob
You're looking fine, Frank
Hello, Jack
Glad to see you, Archie
Zeke, old boy, how's things?[19]

A rousing reception was held for the Blacks in the Arctic Brotherhood Hall, in which cordial informality was the order of the day. As the first Conservative appointee in the territory's history, a proven democrat, reformer and able administrator, Black's appointment made the territory's future look bright to the *News*. Black had once been a miner himself, spoke their language and understood their needs.

In his first morning at his desk Black spoke of the individual miner as the salvation of the territory. His administration would do all in its power to encourage the return of individual entrepreneurs. He admitted that the mining companies were doing good work exploiting gravel which the individual could not, but many of the benefits went to non-residents, no doubt in the shape of investments in company stock. The great need of the territory, he said, was a lowering of the freight rates. The White Pass & Yukon and the territory which it served were mutually dependent. The tourist trade must be stimulated. In his first report, for the season 1911-12, Black regretted that the government order directing the railway to lower its rates had been rescinded, permitting the company to apply the remedy itself. He trusted, however, that the new president was sincere in his assurances that this would be done. Black was to work throughout his tenure for better and more economical transportation and the stimulation of the mining industry. He had a solid background of experience on which to draw, unlike many of his predecessors who had come fresh to the job from the outside.

In her memoirs Martha Black records that in her early years in Dawson she had often deplored the fact that the residence was too exclusive in its patronage; that only the prominent in the community were received there. Finding herself in the spring of 1912 the new chatelaine of Government House, she determined on a thoroughly democratic order of procedure more in keeping with the origins and the character of the community. The residence was not to be inundated by a Jacksonian rabble, for the new mistress of the commissioner's residence drew the line as to good conduct – but she followed the principle that all were eligible for the mansion's hospitality, regardless of social station, very much in the tradition of the West. For her first open house, she ordered 1,000 sandwiches, 40 cakes, 20 gallons of sherbet and salad. At the foot of the main staircase stood a huge punch bowl with attendants, and a five-piece orchestra played on the landing. The interior was lavishly decorated with flags and bunting, potted plants and cut flowers, and the archway was draped with the Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes. Mrs. Black, who had already established a well-deserved reputation as a horticulturalist, had filled the dining-room with scarlet poppies and the upstairs rooms were redolent with the scent of sweet peas, all products at that early season (April) of the residence's greenhouses, while the reception room was decorated with full-grown roses and ferns. The dancing continued until two in the morning and the last guest departed only at five, which must have set a precedent for Government House. Cards and billiards were available on the third floor for those who favoured quieter amusement.

The new mistress of Government House knew, however, where to draw the line. Although miners were welcome in their workaday clothes, Martha Black was fully cognizant of her husband's position as Yukon's chief executive. To one bold chap who asked, "May I come over tonight and bring the Missus," she replied:

You're sure she's your real wife. You have already introduced me to several "wives", and George and I owe a duty to the dignified office he holds.[20]

At this time the Government House staff was made up of a cook, butler, housemaid, gardener and assistant. None excelled the Blacks in kindly and lavish hospitality. Mrs. Black was a woman in her forty-seventh year when she first took up residence at Government House, but one young for her years, both in body and spirit. Nor was she any stranger to the social amenities, having been entertained at the White House on more than one occasion in her youth. Important guests were not lacking during the Blacks' tenure; John F. Strong, governor of the neighbouring territory of Alaska, and Sir Douglas and Lady Hazen (Minister of Marine) were among the more prominent, and only the outbreak of war prevented the visit of the Duke of Connaught. Martha Louise Black played the dual role of hostess and first lady of the territory, and was her husband's companion on many an expedition into the bush by canoe in which they lived under canvas and largely off the land. Mrs. Black was no mean shot with a rifle, although one of her sons passed off casually her first bear as no great feat.

But Martha Black possessed feminine attributes too in full measure. She was an inveterate and successful gardener, bringing the grounds of Government House to a peak of profusion in Dawson's short but fecund summer, when the long hours of sunlight induced plant and vegetable development of incredible size and luxuriance. From the residence's kitchen garden came head lettuce, radishes, peas, carrots, beans, turnips, potatoes, celery, squash, vegetable marrow, and from the extensive lawns, mushrooms. Off season the greenhouses produced tomatoes, cucumbers, currants, gooseberries, raspberries and cranberries. The commissioner's lady also kept chickens, ensuring a supply of fresh eggs and poultry. The commissioner once gulled his wife into believing that one of her prize hens was steadily increasing her output; he substituted store eggs for those freshly laid, increasing the daily delivery to his wife's growing amazement.[21]

Martha Black took a keen interest in the Yukon's flora, becoming in time somewhat of an authority on the wide variety of wild flowers flourishing in that northerly region. As early as December 1906, under the *nom de plume* "Clover," she won first prize in the Yukon Flower Contest for the wide range and diversified display her entry presented: only plants native to the Yukon were to be entered. In time Martha Black identified over 200 varieties of flourishing wild flowers in the Yukon, and did much to correct the popular misconception on the outside that the Yukon was a veritable ice cap. In the Auditor General's report for 1912-13 is recorded a Government House order for 2,000 tulips, 8½ dozen roses and 6 palms,[22] the latter no doubt for interior decoration.

The commissioner's lady also had well-developed literary tastes. During their first two seasons in residence, the Blacks ordered two sets of encyclopaedias as well as *Parkman's Works*, a complete Shakespeare and John L. Stoddard's *Travels*.[23]

To Black, in company with C. A. Thomas, manager of the Yukon Gold Company, belongs the distinction of having made the first trip by automobile from Dawson to Whitehorse, a distance of nearly 350 miles. The trip was completed in Thomas's car just before the new year, 1913. Black was surprised to find the road as good as it was, but even at that it is obvious in the reading that the trip was a rough one. It nonetheless convinced Black of the feasibility of road travel to the head of steel (for the White Pass & Yukon has never been extended beyond Whitehorse), which he considered superior to the winter stage for some classes of traffic. Black straightway wrote to the Yukon's member, urging him to work for appropriations in order that the Dawson-Whitehorse road be made fit for motor travel in all seasons. Unfortunately the account of this memorable journey does not include the make of the car, which suffered only a little carburetor trouble on the road.

As with several of his predecessors, Black was to come under fire early in his career for the dismissal of certain officials favoured by the old regime. He was also criticized for alleged extravagance in road expenditure, a field which in his tenure, as in that of previous administrations, was susceptible to much improvement. Even before his arrival in Dawson, Black had stated that public officials would be dismissed only on the grounds of incompetence or gross misconduct, which included political partisanship. The old grey eminence, F. T. Congdon, had been busy seeking to undermine Black, even as he had Henderson and McInnes before him. The *Vancouver Sun* of 24 December 1912 quoted Congdon as saying that many faithful and conscientious officials in the Yukon had been dismissed by Black on the basis of affidavits sworn out by arrant office seekers. In the case of a mining inspector, T. D. Macfarlane whose case apparently became an issue, Black stated categorically that this official had been dismissed by him not only for notorious partisanship but also for inefficiency. Macfarlane had pleaded with both the commissioner and the member, Dr. Thompson, to be given a second chance, even to the point of tears. This lachrimose entreaty earned only the contempt of the commissioner, who was quoted in the *News* of 13 January 1913.

When government officials participate in politics to the extent that many Yukon officials have in the past they court dismissal on a change of government, and when it comes, they should take their medicine like men, and not blubber about it as did T. D. and D. R. Macfarlane.[24]

In a statement in the *News* on 24 February 1913, Black systematically dealt with all charges made against his administration. There had been no extravagance in the letting of road contracts nor had any aliens been appointed to government office. He raked up Liberal patronage and nepotism during their long tenure in power, dating back indeed to the territory's very inception. Clearly the inference was that the Liberals in opposition were not being very consistent.

Black's term in office, extending over nearly four years before he volunteered for army service, lacked the excitement, the confrontation of issues of the pre-Henderson and particularly the pre-McInnes period. By Black's time the Yukon's grievances had been largely corrected. There remained, and was to remain, the matter of high freight rates and the excessive cost of goods and machinery brought into the territory. Black never lost sight of the fact that mining was the linch-pin of the economy; when that went, everything went. He held that a more thorough prospecting of the outlying districts would pay rich dividends. In the *Dawson Daily News* Discovery Day edition, 17 August 1913, the commissioner had an article on the economy of the Yukon. A second article appeared in the following year's Discovery Day edition under the signature of the commissioner, in which he wrote of the future of the territory. Comparatively little of its vast area had been properly prospected: currently the three chief mining districts were Klondike, Mayo and Whitehorse; in the area of Whitehorse rich copper deposits had been worked. Coal deposits were being worked at Tantalus on the Yukon River, surely a boon in a territory in which ready stands of timber were becoming scarce. Rich grazing land was at hand in the southern Yukon and agriculture had made a start in that region. He expressed confidence that a more thorough and systematic prospecting of the outlying regions would produce a strike as rich as that on the Klondike of 20 years ago.[25] Black had full confidence in the bright prospects of the territory. Investment should be encouraged.

Black was no dog in the manger. When a gold strike was discovered on the Shushana River across the frontier in Alaska, Black ordered the cutting of a trail giving access to the region as far as the international boundary; the pack trail was to be improved to the standards of a wagon road if traffic warranted it. This measure would make Dawson a supply point, to the benefit of its retailers and merchants.

During Black's time in office, a new industry of promise opened in the southern Yukon. Fox-farming was to enjoy a vogue in the far north as it did at various times in divers parts of Canada, including Prince Edward Island during depression years. In the summer of 1914 Black toured the southern Yukon, returning to the capital enthusiastic over the new industry as well as the progress made in road construction and the provision of ferries across the Yukon. The Yukon council saw fit to pass a fox protection ordinance restricting the export of live foxes from the territory and providing penalties for poaching upon fox farms. Black himself had invested in an enterprise known as Holwell Fur Farms before taking office as commissioner. When it transpired that the firm had been bandying his name in their advertising literature, Black at once admonished them that this was inadmissible. When it was found that the firm had been violating the fox export regulation, Black insisted that charges be laid, and in the sequel Holwell lost its case and was fined. Whereupon Black at once resigned from its directorate and demanded a refund on his holdings.[26] The Black administration was efficient and free from scandal. Charges such as those levelled by Congdon fell wide of the mark.

In 1900 Dawson had been incorporated with its own municipal government, but the charter had been relinquished sometime in 1904. Mixed sentiments were held on the merits of municipal government, which had been found very costly to the taxpayer. In the early days federal officials had been immune to taxation, but in December 1909, they had been placed on the assessment rolls as were the judges of the territorial court. In his first report Black deplored the confusion and litigation over tax assessment. In 1910 Judge Dugas had commenced an action in the territorial court attacking the assessment ordinance. The case was tried before Judge Craig and Judge Macaulay (both appellants in the same action), who found in favour of Dugas. On 16 April 1912, indeed, Judge Craig commenced an action against the commissioner on this issue. The imbroglio had created an unsettled situation in which people felt encouraged to avoid payment of taxes. Black announced his intention to appeal Craig's decision in Dugas' case, and to encourage the introduction of such legislation in council as would end this anomalous situation.

In his report for 1914-15, Black was able to record the incorporation (or re-incorporation) of Dawson and a consolidation of territorial ordinances, effective 1 March 1915. The Dawson-Whitehorse road had been improved and a government assay office established at Whitehorse. A signal service rendered the ratepayers of Dawson by the commissioner this same season (1914-15) was his securing of much cheaper rates for utilities by holding off on the letting of contracts. The result had been a reduction of fully one-third in monthly rates. By the following year Black could report a very considerable improvement in the Whitehorse-Dawson road, the establishment of a new hospital at Whitehorse and the appropriation of a sum of money by council for the assistance of prospectors in remote areas.

Like his predecessor, Black deplored the drastic reduction in the Royal North-West Mounted Police, which had been brought about on McInnes' recommendation in the interests of economy and the law-abiding nature of the territory. In his report for 1912-13 (his first), Black stated that the force was required for many services in addition to its prime function, and that he was gratified indeed to learn that the government intended to restore it to its former strength.

The 1913 session of the Yukon Council secured the passing of an ordinance conferring on Black the authority of mayor of Dawson, together with an ordinance providing for its governance. This same session saw the first legislation passed regulating speed on highways in the territory.

On 18 August 1915, Black addressed a holiday throng in Minto Park, celebrating in picnic style Discovery Day, the 19th anniversary of Carmack's strike on what had then been known as Rabbit Creek. Black recalled to his hearers the great contrast between the present scene and that of nearly two decades ago, when Dawson was but a trading post, forested, with a scattered and meagre population of Indians. The hardships and the privations of the pioneers of the comparatively recent past had made possible the comfort and security of the present. He concluded his address with a plea for wholesale support of the war effort, and trusted that Dawson's next celebration of Discovery Day would see victory. It was about this time that the commissioner had the war very much on his mind and was beginning to chafe at his continued passive role. Before long he was to answer the call that was becoming ever more insistent as the casualties mounted and no end to the struggle seemed in sight.

In the early fall of 1915 the Blacks announced their intention of journeying to the outside to spend the winter. The commissioner would visit Ottawa and talk over the needs of the territory with the minister, and they would visit his wife's relatives in California. The *News* paid sincere tribute to Black's 3½ years in office: he had handled the administration of the territory in a businesslike manner and there was no reason, opined the editor, why he should not continue in office for as long as the Conservatives retained power in Ottawa. George N. Williams would be administrator in his absence and Government House would be closed for the winter. The people of Dawson, concluded the editor, would sorely miss its hospitality this winter. At half-past two on the afternoon of 8 October 1915 the Blacks left Dawson aboard the *Whitehorse*, which must have been one of the last boats of the season.

The Blacks travelled as far east as Woodstock and Richibucto, New Brunswick, visiting the scenes of the commissioner's childhood. This had been their first trip to the outside since his appointment as commissioner 3½ years earlier. They spent some time in Ottawa and February found them in southern California, visiting Martha's parents in Los Angeles where she conducted a series of lectures on behalf of the Red Cross, her subject being "The Northern Outpost of the British Empire." The United States was to remain a neutral for another year, but already American sentiment showed sympathy for the allied cause. Hence the Blacks were warmly and hospitably received wherever they went, as spokesmen of a friendly and well-known belligerent power. When Black in company with his brother-in-law motored to San Diego for a day to attend an exposition, a local paper described him, with more generosity than accuracy, as "one of the foremost men of Canada, having been a member of the Yukon Council before he was appointed to his present position."[27] To the Californians Black was considered a vice-regal figure from a bleak northern wilderness, which many of them confused with Alaska. Black went tuna fishing and remarked to a reporter that he rather preferred this activity in subtropic warmth to hunting "moose and caribou when it's below zero at the top of the world."[28]

George Black, however, was to do neither for some time. By the spring of 1916 Mars called too insistently to be further denied. The commissioner, after the war had been going on for 1½ years, could hold back no longer. It is not known when or where he made the decision to enlist, but a report from the *Vancouver-News-Advertiser* of 1 March 1916 stated that Black was then undergoing training in Victoria and was to be attached to the 104th Regiment, New Westminster Fusiliers, with the provisional rank of lieutenant confirmed from Ottawa a week later. His purpose was to raise and take command of a Yukon contingent at an early date.

Predictably Martha Black took this very much in her stride, as was to be expected in one of her spirit, confiding in her diary,

> *Of course, there's nothing for me to do but to act as though I like it. It will be a wrench–to leave this lovely place* [presumably Dawson]. *There's the dreadful anxiety about our future, too. What will this horrible war bring forth? I dare not think of it. Yet why should I hesitate or try to keep him back? Thousands, yes, millions, already have suffered the horrors of this terrible war for over a year.*[29]

It was very much the spirit of that terrible time, when no sacrifice was too great in defence of king and empire; Martha Black had embraced her adopted citizenship with all the zeal of the convert.

Meanwhile her husband, the commissioner, set about drumming up recruits for his unit. The following circular letter put the matter bluntly.

> *Men are required to complete Yukon Infantry Company for Overseas Service. You cannot fail to realize that it is the duty of every able bodied man in Canada, who is not supporting helpless dependents, to offer his services to fight for the Empire in this great crisis.*
>
> *That Yukon has done well, that many of her men have gone, that Yukon women are doing their duty, does not relieve you. It is a matter of individual manhood. Each must decide for himself whether or not he will play the part of a man.*
>
> *We have remained at home in safety while others have been fighting our battles for over two years, although no more obligated to do so than you or I have been. They have, for us, in many cases, made the supreme sacrifice. They are calling to you and to me for help. Are we going to fail them, or will you come with us?*[30]

The response was all that the commissioner could have asked. Martha Black in her memoirs recalled an incident from that time in Dawson when her husband questioned a friend, an Englishman, who had been cold-shouldering him. On being challenged as to what was in his craw, the Englishman replied, "Matter with me! You've asked every damned man in this town to enlist but me!" To which Black replied, "And who in hell got us into this war? Wasn't it the English? You ought to know enough to enlist."[31] Whereupon, concluded Martha Black, her husband gained a grinning recruit and the estrangement was resolved.

On his return from Ottawa to Dawson in April, 1916, Black was stricken at Winnipeg with an attack of appendicitis, but continued on his journey after a few days to undergo surgery for the removal of the troublesome vestigial appendage in Vancouver. He arrived in Dawson aboard the *Casca* on the evening of 8 June, resplendent in a new uniform. The newly recruited Yukon Company marched down to the wharf behind a brass band to greet him. The commissioner was wan and shaky from the effects of his operation, but turned out in full uniform, calling for the enlistment of married men.

By the first week of July Black was confined to bed, having suffered a relapse through over-exertion. From his bed he continued to call for recruits. By Discovery Day, 18 August 1916, Black was on his feet again hammering away at the same theme. Observing the holiday crowd in Minto Park as he rose to address them, he observed somewhat caustically that it contained a higher proportion of young and fit men than would be found in a similar gathering elsewhere in Canada. Why? Obviously because other regions had responded to the call of duty more wholeheartedly than the Yukon. Only the miners, he said, were essential to the territory; all other activity was secondary, and those of military age engaged therein should down tools and enlist.

The Yukon, in common with the rest of the country, had caught the prohibition fever. Had not His Majesty banned wine and spirits from the palace for the duration? The Yukon council accordingly introduced prohibition legislation. Questioned on the issue, Black took a moderate position: he thought the use of alcohol in the territory less harmful than in other parts of the country, but its use could do no good. He personally favoured the use of alcohol only for medicinal purposes, and in any case in frugal moderation. On the constitutional aspects of the issue, he pointed out that the commissioner in council had the power to regulate the sale of intoxicants in the territory, but only the federal government could prohibit their import. But if the territory wanted prohibition they could have it. Whereupon council decided on a plebiscite. In the meantime, an ordinance was passed (29 June) shortening the hours for licensed premises. On 15 July 1916 all saloons in the territory were closed (the saloons being barrooms pure and simple), but hotels were allowed to continue in the business. The territory was drying out. In the sequel, the plebiscite, held 1 September, ended in practically a dead heat with 874 votes for the "wets" and 871 for the "drys." This was not good enough, declared Black; an administration must have a decided mandate before imposing so drastic a measure. There the matter stood for the moment: the Yukon went dry with the rest of Canada the following year (with the exception of Quebec, which did not take the puritanical plunge until 1919). The commissioner observed that he had known, as had most, that opinion on the issue in the territory was very evenly divided, and that he had done right to put the issue to the electorate rather than to petition the federal government as some had counseled.

Black's time in Dawson was fast running out. On Saturday, 7 October, government officials and employees presented the commissioner with an illuminated address and a $500 purse. On Monday, 9 October 1916, the Yukon contingent marched from the court house to the docks with the commissioner at their head. The dock was black with people, and despite an inclement drizzle, spirits were high. As the *Casca* pulled away from the dock on the first stage of the journey to Flanders Fields, a cornet soloist struck up the rousing refrain that has survived two wars, "It's A Long Way to Tipperary." There must have been few dry eyes that day: for many this was to be their last sight of the Klondike. George Norris Williams, a miner from the early days who had had several years' experience on the council, was appointed administrator with the full authority of a commissioner. Black was to be on leave of absence while serving in the army, but on half pay ($3,000 per annum) and without the living allowance.

Black proceeded overseas, in command of the Yukon Infantry Company with the rank of captain, in January 1917. By 2 April 1918, Black cabled that he had arrived in France in command of the 17th Canadian Machine Gun Company – in the midst of the great German offensive. The company had been impatient for action and was not to be disappointed. On 16 August the *Dawson Daily News* reported that Black had been wounded in the thigh and was in hospital at Abbeville; the wound, however, was not serious. About the same time, Black telegraphed his wife that he was being sent back to England with a "blighty," and would be hospitalized in London.

In the meantime Martha Black had been far from idle. She engaged in a strenuous programme of lectures on behalf of the YMCA, touring hostels and military hospitals. Her illustrated talks (lantern slides) on the far-off Yukon must have diverted many a wounded veteran convalescing from the horror and the mud of Flanders.

Black did not get back to the front. While he was based at Seaford, the Admiralty arranged a visit to the fleet at Scapa Flow. Black travelled by rail north from London to Thurso in Caithness; from there he went by tender to the Orkneys where he was taken aboard the battleship *Royal Sovereign*. Black was very hospitably treated and found the officers to be quite interested in the Yukon; no doubt some of them remembered the famous Klondike gold-rush of 20 years before. On a rumour that the German high seas fleet had put to sea for one last battle, the fleet left its anchorage in a bid to intercept its elusive foe. The rumour proving false, however, they put into the Firth of Forth where Black left his hosts and returned to London.

In the meantime developments were taking place in the Yukon which boded ill for the future. A government bent on economy and retrenchment, with the end of the war in sight, took a long second look at the territory. The first tremor of the approaching quake was reported in the *Dawson Daily News* on 23 March 1918: bleak headlines announced that the Yukon estimates had been cut by no less than 40 per cent! Worse was to follow shortly. By order in council dated 28 March 1918, the offices of commissioner and of administrator of the Yukon Territory were alike abolished, the duties to devolve upon the gold commissioner at a salary of $5,000 per annum with living allowance of $1,500 – an obvious saving.[32] The following year, however, the gold commissioner's allowance was increased to $3,000 per annum. A decline in revenue from the territory and falling population were the reasons cited for these draconian measures. The administrator, G. N. Williams, was straightaway informed that his services had been dispensed with, as was the director of surveys and the assistant gold commissioner in Whitehorse. Then on 4 May 1918 the solicitor general, Arthur Meighen, telegraphed the gold commissioner, now the territory's chief executive, that the government intended to abolish the council in favour of a simpler and more economical form of government. But the following January, returning from Ottawa, the gold commissioner brought back the welcome news that the government had had second thoughts on this score and that the council would be reduced to three members. This, contended the gold commissioner attempting to put a bright face on it, was better representation for the reduced electorate than that obtained under the first wholly elective council in 1908. These changes took effect in the spring of 1919, by means of an Act to amend the Yukon Act.[33] The franchise was extended to women in territorial elections (a group of Yukon suffragettes had waited on Black shortly before he had left for overseas), and the indemnity for councillors was reduced from $600 to $400 per session.[34] The administration of the territory was now set for the leaner post-war years.

Martha Black kept busy into the flu-ridden year of 1919 in London, administering the Yukon Comfort Fund. In a letter published in the *Dawson Daily News* on New Year's Day, she mentioned a three-week lecture tour through South Wales in aid of the YMCA. She foresaw agitation and unrest on demobilization, no doubt on the basis of the rioting which had already disturbed the calm of such English towns as Salisbury. Her husband was to be directly involved in the legal aftermath of one of these disturbances. Captain Black defended before a court martial several soldiers from British Columbia charged with mutinous breaches of military discipline at Kimmel Camp. He considered the sentences handed down by the court martial, one of which was for ten years' penal servitude and no fewer than five others for five years, to be overly severe. He disembarked at Halifax from the Cunarder *Caronia* on 2 July 1919, and after a brief stopover in Ottawa, arrived in Vancouver on the morning of 29 July. Black told the press that the sentences were much too severe, that the disturbances were due to drunkenness rather than mutiny, and that he intended to make representations to the federal government on the men's behalf. In August on a visit to Dawson he denounced the whole procedure of military courts martial, considering them harsh and arbitrary tribunals which should never be resorted to whenever the regular courts of the land were available. This was perhaps an extreme point of view, but it should be remembered that Black was essentially a civilian as was the great majority of the men under arms at that time.

Black was as good as his word. He made strong representations to both the prime minister and the minister of justice. In the end all 21 sentences were drastically reduced by legal review, and with but two exceptions, all the men were released from custody by 1 January 1920.[35]

Black's post-war political career, a remarkable one, may be dealt with briefly since it does not relate to the defunct office of the Yukon commissionership. Predictably Black returned to politics and was first elected to the Yukon seat, defeating the formidable F. T. Congdon on 6 December 1921. Not so many years before, Congdon had written Black off as a political cipher who would be useless in the House to represent Yukon. In the sequel, nothing could have been further from the truth. Black sat for the Yukon continually from 1921 until 1935, when ill health induced by his war wound forced his retirement. Fully two-thirds of his parliamentary career was spent, therefore, while his own party was in opposition, and yet as long as Black ran, the Yukon seat was considered safe in the Conservative interest. For some years Black was Speaker of the House. He once enraged R. B. Bennett by ruling him out of order, and this when Bennett was prime minister. Bennett never forgave him. On Black's retirement from the House, albeit temporarily, in 1935 in order to undergo an operation for a suspected brain tumor, Bennett's valedictory was restrained. "He is a fine type of citizen and brought to his high position both dignity and ability."[36] Black was fully aware of Bennett's hostility. When in 1949, on his final retirement from politics he was appointed to the Privy Council for life by Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent, an honour traditionally conferred on retiring speakers, Black commented:

R. B. Bennett didn't do it for me. He would not have had me Speaker had it not been for the insistence of his Cabinet, who, to a man, were personal friends of mine; then when I had the position I refused to let him boss me and we were never on friendly terms.[37]

Black made a name for himself as a rugged individualist. Once in 1932 he was the talk of the capital for having shot six rabbits with a .22 pistol on Parliament Hill, having spotted them from his apartment window.

With her husband's withdrawal from the political arena due to ill health, Martha herself ran for the Yukon seat in the 1935 election and carried it. She became the second woman, after Agnes McPhail, to sit in the House of Commons. On passing through Winnipeg to take her seat in the House, Martha Black spoke her forthright philosophy.

If you can see the joke on yourself and not take yourself too seriously and don't expect too much from the world, you get along pretty well. Live each day as it comes and thank the Lord it is not any worse. Why, the best anyone can do is to do their best each day so as to have no deathbed confessions.[38]

Not bad advice for a neophyte member, taking her place in the House for the first time. Martha Black served one term, retiring in the 1940 election to make way for her husband, who returned to the fray to win the Yukon seat once more in his sixty-ninth year, and this during Mackenzie King's long tenure in office. Black fell foul of this premier too, attacking King for his dismissal of Ralston during the heated conscription debate in 1945. King was reported to have gone white with anger, but the old Yukoner had the better of the exchange. Black did not contest the seat in 1949; he announced his retirement from politics. In August, 1951, he was appointed a member of the King's Privy Council for Canada. At this time Black had returned to his Dawson law practice, where he had started over a half-century before. In the 1953 election the veteran member and sometime Yukon commissioner returned to the fray, but this time was defeated by J. Aubrey Simmons, who had sat for Yukon since 1949 in the Liberal interest. This was Black's final adieu to political life.

Martha had been honoured by the king in 1946 with the OBE. She died in 1957 in Whitehorse, not so far from her well-beloved Dawson. Black himself lived on until 1965, when death overtook him on 23 September in Vancouver in his ninety-fourth year. He had served the Yukon well for nearly half a century, first on the Yukon council, then as commissioner, and finally for many years as the Yukon's member in the House of Commons. Both he and his wife were true Yukoners, having mushed over the Chilkoot on the trail of '98.

Epilogue

The constitutional changes and economic cutbacks of 1918-19 did not mean the end of the Yukon – indeed far from it – but for Dawson this period marks the end of an era. The future was to belong to Whitehorse, though Dawson lingered on as the titular capital reduced to the dimensions of a village.

The post-1918 period is, therefore, treated briefly and in general terms in this study. It is not implied that the men who served the territory as chief executives, under various titles, are unworthy of closer attention. All were capable and dedicated officials to our knowledge. Rather, for the sake of cohesion and symmetry, the detailed account should end at this point.

Until 1932 the gold commissioner remained the territory's chief executive, responsible to the minister of the Interior. Many of his functions were served without reference to the minister – calling and dissolving the council, school appointments, letting of contracts for road work, administration of the liquor ordinances. By 1928 the gold commissioner's salary, effective 1 April, was raised to $7,140 per annum. Then by order in council dated 30 June 1932, the powers and duties of the gold commissioner were transferred to the comptroller at a salary of $2,820 per annum and $1,500 allowances. The office of gold commissioner per se was abolished on 20 February 1934.

A considerable reorganization of the federal government took place in 1936, with the disbanding of old departments and the constituting of new ones. By order in council,[1] confirmed 3 December, the office of comptroller was redesignated controller, to serve as chief executive of the territory at an increased salary of $4,620 per annum with $2,000 per annum expenses. From this year the Yukon passed under the authority of the new Department of Mines and Resources. The department was renamed Resources and Development in 1951, to which the Yukon's chief executive was still responsible. The office of commissioner was revived in 1947;[2] J. E. Gibben's appointment effective 13 July 1948 conferred on him the revived title of commissioner. In 1952 the Yukon council, or the "Legislative Council" as it was then known, was increased from three to five elected members, with the functions of the commissioner unchanged.

For Dawson, the most northerly capital in the British commonwealth, the sands of time were running out. Whitehorse had long surpassed it as a communications hub and the centre of an active copper mining region with a population much larger than that of Dawson. The last session of the Yukon council was held in Dawson in the autumn of 1952; the following spring the territorial capital was transferred to Whitehorse. Since 1954 the administration of the Yukon has fallen to yet another of the continuously re-organized and re-named federal departments, Northern Affairs and National Resources, latterly again reconstituted as Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

In an unintentional note of anticlimax, the fate of that once proud and sumptuous residence, Government House, must be recorded. It will be recalled that it was closed in 1916 on Black's departure overseas. The office then being abolished, the residence remained boarded up, as forlorn as a fun fair in the off-season. Its elegant interior no longer accorded with the reduced circumstances of the territory. A practical use was to be found for it, however, and one with which people were unlikely to quibble. In January, 1950, St. Mary's Hospital, dating from gold-rush days, burned to the ground. The Sisters of St. Anne, casting about for alternative accommodation, took a 21-year lease on the commissioner's residence[3] for use as a home for the aged. Extensive work was required to put the long unoccupied residence in habitable state, but the sisters hoped to move in that summer. The ground floor accommodated the inmates, the second storey the sisters, and the third served as a nurses' residence. A year later, in November 1951, the Yukon council submitted a resolution to the minister of resources and development requesting federal support for the reacquisition of the property. The proposal was that the federal government match the $35,000 put up by the territorial government to be paid the Sisters of St. Anne for their surrender of the lease. Apparently this proposal had not met with the minister's approval since the memorial submitted by the council speaks of "reconsideration." Council wished the territorial government itself to secure the residence and operate it themselves as an aged persons' home.

The council, however, was thwarted in its purpose, for in 1955 the sisters of St. Anne bought the property outright. It is a fair surmise that Ottawa balked at matching the local authorities' offer, and so the sisters hung on to the property. In any case, the onetime Government House remained in the hands of the order, presumably as a home for the aged, until 1963 when the property reverted to the commissioner of the territory:[4] the good sisters vacated the residence on St. Patrick's Day, 1964.

One does not like to assume that this is the end of the story of Dawson, a community which once was a household word throughout the world in those brief frenetic summers when adventurers from the four corners of the earth flocked by the thousands to Eldorado just below the Arctic Circle. But here this report must leave it, for the vital part of its theme, the story of the commissioners who administered this burgeoning territory from the most northerly capital in the British empire, has been told.

Appendix

Commissioners and Chief Executives of the Yukon

Major J. M. Walsh, 1897-98
William Ogilvie, 1898-1901
James Hamilton Ross, 1901-02
Frederick Tennyson Congdon, 1903-04
William Wallace Burns McInnes, 1905-06
Alexander Henderson, 1907-11
George Black, 1912-16
George N. Williams, 1916-18
George P. MacKenzie, 1918-24
Percy Reid, 1924-27
George A. Jeckell, 1928
George I. MacLean, 1929-32
George A. Jeckell, 1932-46
John E. Gibben, 1946-50
A. H. Gibson, 1950-51
Fred. Fraser, 1951-52
W. G. Brown, 1952-55
F. H. Collins, 1955-62
G. R. Cameron, 1965-66
James Smith, 1966-

Endnotes

The Last Frontier

1 *Canada: Sessional Papers, 1896*, No. 13, Part VI, p. 10, Report Concerning the Administration of the North-West Territories for the Year 1895.

2 Ibid., *1897*, No. 13, p. xxiii, Annual Report, Department of the Interior for the Year 1896.

3 Ibid., *1898*, No. 13, p. 10, Annual Report, Department of the Interior for the Year 1897.

4 Canada. Public Archives (hereafter cited as PAC), RG 85, *Northern Administration Branch Records* (hereafter cited as *Northern Administration Branch*), file 3040, Sifton to Governor General, 11 August 1897.

5 David R. Morrison, *The Politics of the Yukon Territory, 1898-1909* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), pp. 19-20.

6 At the time of Walsh's appointment, 17 August 1897, the Yukon was still constituted a judicial district of the North West Territories (P.C. 2640, approved 2 October 1895); hence it may be contended that Walsh should not be designated the first commissioner of the Yukon Territory per se. The Yukon became a separate territory only by the provisions of the Yukon Act (61 Vic. cap. 6), 13 June 1898. It should be noted, however (*see* text), that Walsh's commission specifically conferred upon him the title "Commissioner of the Yukon Territory." For the sake of continuity and symmetry in the text therefore, this constitutional fine point has been overlooked, but is drawn to the notice of the reader here.

7 *Northern Administration Branch*, file 3040.

8 *Canada: Sessional Papers, 1898*, No. 13, pp. 87-8, Thomas Fawcett Reports, 13 Dec. 1897.

9 Ibid., *1897*, No. 13, Part II, p. 45, Ogilvie Report, 10 June 1896.

10 Ibid., *1898*, No. 38b, p. 8, The Journey from Ottawa to Winter Quarters on the Yukon.

11 Ibid., pp. 8-11.

12 Ibid., pp. 11-12.

13 Ibid., pp. 17-21.

14 Ibid., p. 24.

15 Ibid., p. 29.

16 Ibid., p. 30.

17 Ibid., p. 35.

18 PAC, MG27, II, D15, *Sifton Papers* (hereafter cited as *Sifton Papers*), pp. 37643-60, Walsh to Sifton, 23 Oct. 1898.

19 Pierre Berton, *Klondike: The Life and Death of the Last Great Gold Rush* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1958), pp. 331-2.

20 *Dawson Daily News*, Monday, 24 July 1905, edit.

21 *Sifton Papers*, pp. 71150-3.

22 *Sifton Papers*, pp. 37618-22, Walsh to Sifton, 26 Sept. 1898.

23 PAC, MG30, C2, Vol. 1, *William Ogilvie Papers* (hereafter cited as *Ogilvie Papers*), Reminiscences.

24 Ibid., file Manuscripts, biographical sketch by Frank Nelson.

25 Don W. Thomson, *Men and Meridians: The History of Surveying and Mapping in Canada* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967), Vol. 2, p. 151.

26 *Canada: Sessional Papers, 1897*, No. 13, Part II, pp. 48-49, Extracts from Reports of William Ogilvie, Fort Cudahy, 6 Sept. 1896.

27 Ibid., *1898*, No. 13, Part II, p. 8, Annual Report Department of the Interior 1897, Dominion Lands Surveys.

28 *Ogilvie Papers*, Vol. 1, correspondence file, Sifton letter of introduction, 21 Feb. 1898.

29 PAC, RG15, E-1(b), *Interior Department Records*, (hereafter cited as *Interior Department Records*), *Yukon Territory*, Commissioner's Office Letter Books, Vol. 2, p. 318, Ogilvie to Minister, 30 June 1900.

30 *Canada: Sessional Papers, 1900*, No. 33u, Report of William Ogilvie, Dawson, 20 Sept. 1899.

31 *Interior Department Records*, Commissioner's Letter Books, Vol. 2, p. 266, Ogilvie to Minister, 26 June 1900.

32 PAC, MG26, G, *Laurier Papers*, (hereafter cited as *Laurier Papers*), pp. 31573-4, 31576, Ogilvie to Laurier, 22 March 1899.

33 *Klondike Nugget*, Wednesday, 5 April 1899, edit.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid., Wednesday, 29 March 1898, edit.

36 *Interior Department Records*, numbered file 1443, Ogilvie to William Muloch, Dawson, 22 May 1900.

37 Ibid., file 1443, Smart to Ogilvie, 22 November 1900.

38 Ibid., Sifton to Ogilvie, 14 August 1900.

39 61 Vic. Cap. 6.

40 David R. Morrison, op. cit., p. 37.

41 *Semi-Weekly Nugget*, Sunday, 7 April 1901, p. 6.

42 *Daily Klondike Nugget*, Thursday, 6 June 1901.

43 *Laurier Papers*, pp. 28567-72, 31573.

Political Ferment

1 F. H. Collins, *The Yukon Territory: A Brief Presented to the Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospect* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1955), Appendix B, p. 28.

2 *Klondike Nugget*, Wednesday, 10 April 1901.

3 *Sifton Papers*, Vol. 96, pp. 75655-6, Congdon to Sifton, 24 July 1901.

4 Ibid., pp. 86971-8, Ross to Sifton, 18 July 1901.

5 Ibid., pp. 87014 & 87016, Ross to Sifton, 16 August 1901.

6 *Canada: Sessional Papers; 1902*, No. 25, Part IX, p. 4

7 Ibid.

8 *Klondike Nugget*, Friday, 16 August 1901, p. 1.

9 PAC, RG11, *Department of Public Works Records*, Supplementary Estimates, 1901-02, Vol. 210, pp. 9 & 11.

10 Ibid.

11 *Canada: Sessional Papers;* 1902, No. 1 Part V-48.

12 Martha Louise Black, *My Seventy Years* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1938), p. 186.

13 *Sessional Papers: 1903*, Part VII, p. 3.
14 *Daily Morning Sun* (Dawson), Sunday, 4 May 1902, p. 4.
15 Ibid., Tuesday, 4 June 1902, p. 1.
16 *Yukon Sun*, Saturday, 6 September 1902, p. 1.
17 *Dawson Daily News*, Tuesday, 11 November 1902, p. 1.
18 *Laurier Papers*, p. 68197.
19 PAC, MG30, I11, *Woodside Papers*, (hereafter cited as *Woodside Papers*) Vol. 17, Sir Sam Steele Corresp., 1898-1919.
20 *Yukon Sun*, Friday, 10 April 1903, edit.
21 *Sifton Papers*, p. 111394, Congdon to Sifton, 24 November 1903.
22 Ibid., pp. 126120-1, Congdon to Sifton, 14 January 1904.
23 *Yukon World*, Sunday, 2 April & Tuesday, 4 April 1905.
24 *Yukon Sun*, Saturday, 7 November 1903, p. 4.
25 Ibid., Tuesday, 23 February 1904, p. 3.
26 David R. Morrison, op. cit., p. 71.
27 *Yukon Sun & Klondike Pioneer*, Saturday, 2 April 1904, edit.
28 Ibid.
29 *Sifton Papers*, pp. 126205-7, Congdon to J. A. Smart, 2 June 1904.
30 Ibid., p. 126216, Congdon to Sifton, 18 June 1904.
31 *Dawson Daily News*, Wednesday, 13 July 1904, edit.
32 *Laurier Papers*, pp. 88066-7, Congdon to Laurier, 15 July 1904.
33 Ibid., p. 88068, Laurier to Congdon, 6 August 1904.
34 Ibid., pp. 91938-9, Congdon to Laurier, 8 November 1904.
35 Ibid.
36 Ibid., p. 91219, Congdon to Laurier, 29 October 1904.
37 *Dawson Daily News*, Friday, 18 November 1904.
38 Ibid., Monday, 19 December 1904, edit.
39 David R. Morrison, op. cit., p. 68.
40 *Sifton Papers*, Vol. 176, pp. 143096-105, Z. T. Wood to Comptroller, R.N.-W.M.P., 19 December 1904.
41 *Laurier Papers*, pp. 101357-8, Congdon to Laurier, 20 September 1905.
42 *Woodside Papers*, Vol. 17, Cuthbert-Woodside Correspondence, March-August 1906.
43 *Laurier Papers*, p. 111399, Laurier to McInnes, 31 May 1906.
44 Ibid., pp. 111395-7, McInnes to Laurier, 19 June 1906.
45 *Dawson Daily News*, Saturday, 12 October 1907, p. 3.
46 Ibid., edit.
47 *Yukon World*, Saturday, 19 December 1908, p. 2.
48 Henry James Morgan, ed., *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1912), p. 770.
49 *Laurier Papers*, pp. 225841-225845.
50 Ibid., pp. 96101-2, 28 March 1905.
51 P.C. 968.
52 *Dawson Daily News*, Tuesday, 4 July 1905, p. 4.
53 Ibid., Saturday, 8 July 1905, p. 1.
54 Ibid.
55 Ibid.
56 *Laurier Papers*, pp. 99688-92, Congdon-Laurier correspondence, July 1905.
57 Ibid., pp. 99963-6, McInnes to Laurier, 24 July 1905.
58 *Yukon World*, Sunday, 13 August 1905, p. 2.
59 *Laurier Papers*, p. 108050, Laurier to Congdon, 2 April 1906.
60 *Dawson Daily News*, Saturday, 9 June 1906, p. 5.
61 *Laurier Papers*, pp. 114565-9, Resolutions, Yukon Territorial Liberal Association, 10 October 1906.
62 Ibid., pp. 112887-8, C. H. Wells to Laurier, 13 August 1906.
63 Ibid., pp. 113479-82, McInnes-Laurier correspondence, August-September 1906.
64 Ibid.
65 *Canada: Sessional Papers, 1907-08*, No. 55a.
66 Ibid., p. 117745, Laurier to McInnes, 2 January 1907.
67 *Dawson Daily News*, Saturday, 29 September 1906, p. 3.
68 Ibid., Thursday, 8 November 1906, p. 1.
69 Ibid., Tuesday, 1 January 1907.
70 Martha Louise Black, op. cit., p. 195.
71 PAC, RG15, E1(a) *Interior Department Records Yukon Territory*, file 20384, Report of the Commissioners in the Matter of the Inquiry into the Fire at Government House on 25th Day of December 1906.
72 *Laurier Papers*, pp. 154919-21, McInnes-Laurier correspondence, April 1909.
73 *Dawson Daily News*, Thursday, 31 May 1911, p. 4.
74 *Vancouver Daily Sun*, Tuesday, 18 December 1917, p. 1.
75 *Dawson Daily News*, Thursday, 27 September 1917, p. 3.

Yukon in Transition

1 *Toronto News*, Monday, 11 March 1907, p. 11.
2 P.C. 1407.
3 *Dawson Daily News*, Monday, 15 July 1907, p. 2.
4 Ibid., Tuesday, 23 July 1907, p. 2.
5 *Laurier Papers*, pp. 136344-5, Henderson to Pringle, 14 Feb. 1908.
6 Ibid., pp. 150384-7, Henderson to Laurier, 14 Jan. 1909.
7 7-8 Edw. VII cap. 76.
8 *Dawson Daily News*, Thursday, 3 Dec. 1908, p. 4.
9 Ibid., Friday, 13 August 1909, p. 4.
10 Martha Louise Black, op. cit., pp. 199-200.
11 *Dawson Daily News*, Monday, 6 June 1910, p. 3.
12 Ibid., Friday, 3 March 1911, p. 4.
13 *Laurier Papers*, pp. 179916-8, Congdon to Laurier, 12 Jan. 1911.
14 *Dawson Daily News*, Monday, 11 July 1911, p. 4.
15 Martha Louise Black, op. cit., pp. 67-161, passim.
16 Ibid., pp. 182-4.
17 *Dawson Daily News*, Thursday, 28 March 1912, p. 4.
18 Ibid., Saturday, 3 Feb. 1912, edit.
19 *Dawson Daily News*, Thursday, 21 March 1912, p. 1.
20 Ibid., p. 221.
21 Ibid., pp. 219-21.
22 *Canada: Sessional Papers, 1914*, No. 1, Part V, p. 201.
23 Ibid., *1913*, No. 1, Part V, p. 113.
24 *Dawson Daily News*, Friday, 31 January 1913, p. 1.
25 Ibid., Tuesday, 17 Aug. 1917, p. 13.
26 Ibid., Tuesday, 2 March 1915, p. 4.
27 Ibid., Wednesday, 16 Feb. 1916, p. 3.
28 Ibid.
29 Martha Louise Black, op. cit., p. 226.
30 PAC, MG30, H43, *Martha Louise Black*, reel M–536, p. 47.
31 Martha Louise Black, op. cit., pp. 227-8.
32 PAC, RG85, *Northern Administration Branch Records*, Vol. 608, file No. 2625.
33 9-10 Geo. V, cap. 9.
34 *Canada: Statutes*, 9-10 Geo. V, cap. 9.
35 *Dawson Daily News*, Tuesday, 11 November 1919, p. 3.
36 Ibid., Saturday, 19 January 1935, p. 1.
37 PAC, RG91, *Yukon Territorial Records*, numbered file 33226, Black to J. E. Gibben, 29 December 1949.
38 *Dawson Daily News*, Saturday, 11 January 1936, p. 3.

Epilogue

1 P.C. 3072.
2 Under the terms of 11-12 Geo. VI, cap. 75.
3 P.C. 1262, dated 14 March 1950.
4 Order in council 29438.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Canada. Public Archives.
RG11, *Department of Records, Public Works*, Supplementary Estimates 1901-2, Vol. 210.
RG15, E1(b) *Interior Department Records, Yukon Territory*, Commissioner's Office Letter Books, file 1443. Series E relating to the Yukon will soon be transferred to RG91, *Yukon Territorial Records*.
RG85, *Northern Administration Branch Records*, files 3040 and 2625.
RG91, *Yukon Territorial Records*, file 33226.
MG26, G, *Laurier Papers*.
MG27, II, D15, *Sifton Papers*.
MG30, C2, *William Ogilvie Papers*.
MG30, H43, *Martha Louise Black*.
MG30, I11, *Woodside Papers*.

Canada: Sessional Papers, 1896-1936.

Canadian Almanac & Legal Court Directory, 1896-1954. Copp Clark Co., Toronto. 54 vols.

Canadian Parliamentary Companion, later *Guide*, 1897-1954. Queen's & King's Printers, Ottawa. 48 vols.

Dawson Daily News, 1899-1954.

Klondike Nugget, 1898-1901.

Toronto News, 1907.

Vancouver Daily Sun, 1917.

Yukon Sun, 1899-1904.

Yukon World, 1904-09.

Secondary Sources

Berton, Pierre
Klondike: The Life & Death of the Last Great Gold Rush. *McClelland* & Stewart, Toronto, 1958.

Black, Martha Louise.
My Seventy Years. Thomas Nelson, London, 1938.

Collins, F. H.
The Yukon Territory: A Brief Account Presented to the Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects. Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1955.

Hopkins, J. Castell
Canadian Annual Review, 1902-38. Toronto (later Canadian) Annual Review Publishing Co., Toronto. 34 vols.

Morgan, Henry James, ed.
The Canadian Men and Women of the Time, 2nd ed. William Briggs, Toronto, 1912.

Morrison, David R.
The Politics of the Yukon Territory, 1898-1919. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1968.

Thompson, Don W.
Men and Meridians: The History of Surveying and Mapping in Canada.
Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1967. 3 vols.

Wallace, W. Stewart
MacMillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography. 3rd ed. MacMillan Co., London, 1963.

Zaslow, Morris
The Opening of the Canadian North, 1897-1914. McClelland & Stewart, Toronto, 1971. (Canadian Centenary Series)

National Historic Parks and Sites Branch,
Ottawa

Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History

1 Archaeological Investigations of the National Historic Sites Service, 1962-1966, John H. Rick; A Classification System for Glass Beads for the Use of Field Archaeologists, K. E. and M. A. Kidd; The Roma Settlement at Brudenell Point, Prince Edward Island, Margaret Coleman. $3.00

2 Contributions from the Fortress of Louisbourg – No. 1
Archaeological Research at the Fortress of Louisbourg, 1961-1965, Edward McM. Larrabee; A "Rescue Excavation" at the Princess Half-Bastion, Fortress of Louisbourg, Bruce W. Fry; An Archaeological Study of Clay Pipes from the King's Bastion, Fortress of Louisbourg, Iain C. Walker. $3.00

3 Comparisons of the Faunal Remains From French and British Refuse Pits at Fort Michilimackinac: A Study in Changing Subsistence Patterns, Charles E. Cleland; The French in Gaspé, 1534 to 1760, David Lee; The Armstrong Mound on Rainy River, Ontario, Walter A. Kenyon. $3.00

4 A Brief History of Lower Fort Garry, Dale Miquelon; The Big House, Lower Fort Garry, George C. Ingram; Industrial and Agricultural Activities at Lower Fort Garry, George C. Ingram; The Sixth Regiment of Foot at Lower Fort Garry, William R. Morrison; The Second Battalion, Quebec Rifles, at Lower Fort Garry, William R. Morrison. $3.00

5 Excavations at Lower Fort Garry, 1965-1967; A General Description of Excavations and Preliminary Discussions, James V. Chism. $3.00

6 A History of Rocky Mountain House, Hugh A. Dempsey; The Excavation and Historical Identification of Rocky Mountain House, William C. Noble. $3.00.

7 Archaeological Investigation at Signal Hill, Newfoundland, 1965-66, Edward B. Jelks. $3.00.

8 The Canals of Canada, John P. Heisler. $5.00.

9 The Canadian Lighthouse, Edward F. Bush. In press.

10 The Architectural Heritage of the Rideau Corridor, Barbara A. Humphreys; Glassware Excavated at Fort Gaspereau, Jane E. Harris; Commissioners of the Yukon, 1897-1918, Edward F. Bush. $5.00

Available from Information Canada, Publishing Division, Ottawa, Ontario. K1A 0S9.

Articles appearing in this series are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and/or *America : History and Life*.

Canadian Historic Sites : Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History is also published in French under the title *Lieux historiques canadiens : Cahiers d'archéologie et d'histoire*. For more information, write Information Canada, Publications Division, 171 Slater Street, Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0S9, Canada.